

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 8th May 1952.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

I.—PRIVILEGE MOTION.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Hon. Member Mr. Viswanatham.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Sir, do you want me to raise the question of privilege now? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The Hon. the Leader of the House wants time. Therefore, let us take up the matter to-morrow.”

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—“ What is the motion, Sir? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ It is the motion of the hon. Member Sri T. Viswanatham about the question of privilege.”

II.—DISCUSSION ON HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I have to acquaint the House that on the 6th of May 1952, His Excellency the Governor was pleased to make a speech to both the Houses of the Legislature, of which I had for greater accuracy obtained a copy^a and placed it on the table of the House on the 6th May itself.

“ I called a meeting of all the Leaders in my Chamber this morning and it was agreed that the Government Motion should be moved now and the amendments might be taken up after 2-30 p.m.; and as regards the amendments, instead of allowing all the Members who have given notice of amendments to move them, we could take up one comprehensive amendment and the Members could speak on it. In regard to the amendments, I must also tell the hon. Members that they should not be in the form of no confidence motions. Our Constitution and the Rules provide separately for a motion of no-confidence in the Ministry. Hon. Members should not take advantage of this occasion and move a no-confidence motion at this stage. If they want to move a no-confidence motion, let them follow the Rules as well as the Constitution. Now, I call upon the hon. Member Sri T. N. Venkatasubba Reddi to move the motion standing in his name.”

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* SRI T. N. VENKATASUBBA REDDI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have the honour to move—

‘ That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor as follows :—

“ May it please Your Excellency,

We, the Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly, beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Address delivered to both the Houses of the Legislature on the 6th of May.”

“ I am fortunate to have the privilege to propose this motion of thanks to His Excellency, our Governor under our Constitution. I say fortunate, because it is good luck that I belong to an age when our country has been freed not only from foreign rule but from all types of rule wherein the people ruled had no say in their governance. Our country has been subject to autocratic rule for centuries past, sometimes by benevolent monarchs and sometimes by tyrants, but always to a rule wherein the people had no say in their governance. We are here as representatives elected by the free choice of the people, as representatives in whom the people have confidence, and we have to do all those things which will be conducive to their welfare. There are many difficult, complex and urgent problems in our country which is so vast and is populated by people speaking different languages and belonging to different communities.

“ It is very necessary that we should tackle these problems with a great deal of thought. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and specially so when we are face to face with these problems. It is not rarely that we have seen incitement of parochial tendencies amongst us. We should realize that these tendencies are the cause and the seed of disunity amongst us especially now when unity among the people is very necessary to preserve the strength that we need to enjoy our freedom. There are many difficulties in carrying on the administration, with these problems facing us. But they are not insurmountable and with courage and determination on our part, we shall be able to surmount them. Unless we unite into a single people, we cannot make our country strong and enable her to occupy her rightful place in the world.

“ Our Constitution has guaranteed social, economic and political equality to all of us. We have to recognize that there has been in the past no social, economic or political equality amongst us. We should not forget the cause of the under-privileged who have suffered on account of certain evils in our society. It is very necessary that we should tackle this problem with urgency and we can do so completely and quickly not by legislation but by determination on our part to eradicate these evils by our own good actions in our daily lives. Unless we achieve this end, we shall find that the freedom that has been won after such strife and suffering will be lost to us. We should be constantly watchful that we do not give room for any of these tendencies to take root in our life.

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"There are many evils that we have got to recognize among ourselves. It is the encouragement that was given to these evils in the past that has led to sectarian partialities like nepotism, favouritism and vindictiveness. It is our duty to act in such a way that there will be no room given for such tendencies to grow and spread. In this connexion, we as legislators have a direct responsibility.

"We, in this State, Sir, have the good fortune of having Mr. C. Rajagopalachari as our Chief Minister to guide and help us achieve the aims I have referred to. There have been some criticisms about his appointment as Chief Minister by His Excellency the Governor. I would say, Sir, that we are indeed fortunate in having him amongst us here, with all his experience as a fighter for our freedom and as an administrator who has occupied the highest position in the land, to temper the exuberance of our recently won freedom and authority. I am sure that the House will join with me when I say that we are thankful to him for taking upon himself these arduous duties at a time when he has a right to take rest. We feel, Sir, that a large part of our burden has been taken off our shoulders by his taking up these duties.

"Sir, we in this State, are now faced with a very severe famine. We are thankful to His Excellency for the keen interest he has taken which is evidenced by the strenuous tour he undertook of the famine areas soon after his arrival here. I may tell you as one coming from those areas that the presence of His Excellency among the people who are suffering was a source of encouragement and help to dispel their despair to a large extent. The magnitude and intensity of suffering in these areas can be realized only if one witnesses the scenes there. I come from those parts and would like to give a picture of what has happened and what is happening in those areas. Sir, there has been a complete failure of rains this year and consequently a complete failure of crops. Before this, there had been partial failure of rains for the last four years and so there had been only partial harvests. So much so, the people's resources at the beginning of this year were almost nil. The complete failure of monsoons this year has left the people with no resources to exist. Even though it was known six months ago that famine might become inevitable, nothing was done to stave it off. During the last six months much of the cattle wealth has been depleted due to lack of fodder and the necessity of the ryots to sell the cattle to feed themselves. Unless something miraculous happens I cannot say how our farmers are going to plough their lands in the coming season. All this is regrettable but that is what has happened. During the last two and a half months the suffering of the people has been so great and so acute and the problem has assumed such magnitude that I feel that relief measures should not be delayed any further. We live in the hope that the Government will do their best to see that relief is not delayed any further. The measures that the Government have contemplated and approved are adequate but unfortunately their implementation has been delayed. I am not going to state the reasons

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for the delay and I hope that our Chief Minister and his Cabinet will take such steps as are necessary to implement their programme of relief with immediate effect.

"Sir, we are grateful to the Government of India for the help they have rendered in giving us subsidies to run a number of gruel centres and in affording other kinds of relief. I have no doubt that the Government of Madras will spare no pains to afford this relief urgently to the people.

"His Excellency has been pleased to say that due to the shortness of time at his disposal, he has not been able to indicate any programme the Government will have to draw up for the future. I feel, Sir, that even in the month of June it may not be possible for the Government to undertake any new projects or schemes. Sir, while on the subject of projects, let me give an illustration of the magnitude of the work that has to be done in the famine areas. In the three districts of Chittoor, Cuddapah and Anantapur, there are 43 lakhs of people. If we take it that at least sixty per cent of these people are in need of some form of help and that the Government will have to spend eight annas a day on each person by way of relief, it will come to thirteen lakhs of rupees a day for a population of roughly twenty-six lakhs. For one month, the relief will amount to four crores of rupees and this relief will have to be given, as the Hon. the Chief Minister said recently, till about September this year. We can now imagine the amount of money and the administrative machinery that will be necessary for continuing this relief. But this amount has got to be spent and while spending it, our Government should see that it is spent on such projects which will prevent the recurrence of famines in these areas in future. Famine in these areas has been one of frequent occurrence and this has been due not in a small measure to the fact that these areas have not been developed right from the time of the Vizianagar dynasty, though the population has been on the increase ever since. Lack of development of these areas and failure of monsoons have brought about the present famine and I am sure the Government will do their very best to fight it.

"I know, Sir, that there are many pressing problems agitating our minds in this House. They have to be tackled and tackled as soon as possible. But the question of famine relief is of such humanitarian urgency that I feel—and the House will agree with me—that it has to be given top priority.

"Sir, I once again wish to convey our grateful thanks to His Excellency for the Address which he has given to both the Houses."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Before I allow hon. Members to move their amendments I must tell the House that amendments should not be published in the Press before they are admitted. It is most unparliamentary. I hope the Press will also co-operate with me in seeing that they do not publish any amendments before they are admitted by me."

ADDRESS

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* SRI S. RAMASWAMY NAIDU :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a high privilege for me to rise to second the Motion so ably and eloquently moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Venkatasubba Reddi."

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—" On a point of order, Sir, is the hon. Member in order in reading from notes? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" This being his maiden speech I allow him to do so. In future I will not allow him to read from notes."

SRI S. RAMASWAMY NAIDU :—" It is not a written speech."

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—" This is not the first time he speaks in a Legislature."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" He was in the Parliament and he is an experienced parliamentarian."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I thought he was making his maiden speech. He himself has said that it is not a written speech. The hon. Member may proceed."

* SRI S. RAMASWAMY NAIDU :—" This legislature has been brought into existence under the Constitution of India. The Indian National Congress fought for attaining the independence of India. After attaining independence our leaders framed and gave us a Constitution. As a result of this we are now proud of being members of the first legislature here in a free India. Our leaders laboured for a long time and gave us this Constitution which guarantees to us, all freedoms. It is up to us to work this Constitution in a truly democratic way.

" Sir, His Excellency has been pleased to explain the lack of coverage of all the subjects that would generally be covered in an address of this nature. Our problems are many and varied. There is first the problem of famine. The failure of rains for a long number of years has brought about famine conditions throughout the country. This year in Rayalaseema we are facing acute famine conditions and there are famine conditions in some districts in Tamilnad also. The Government have been very vigilant and have taken steps to alleviate the distress. The very fact that not even a single case of death due to famine has been reported is evidence of the great care and prompt action the Government have taken to start famine relief works.

" Sir, there is the other problem of food rationing. Even in the very best of days when we were having regular monsoons we were short in our food resources by about four lakhs tons. This year His Excellency has pointed out that we are short by 14 lakhs tons of foodgrains. How we are going to meet this deficit has also been explained partly in His Excellency's address. He has said that in the surplus districts there is a chance of better procurement and with the import quota we will be able to cope with this difficulty also. But how are we going to devise plans to meet this permanent famine condition? How are we going to meet the present and pressing acute distress of the people? These

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have been ably explained by our Ministers who have just laid down their offices and by the Ministers now in office. There have been many projects, river valley projects that have been planned and some are actually being carried out. When all these are carried out I am quite sure much of our distress will be relieved. There are also many schemes of minor irrigation which, if completed, will surely give us a large amount of foodgrains. In the south, tanks which have been left uncared for and unrepaired for a long number of years, have been repaired and this year, especially in Ramanathapuram district, we find people raising food crops in the zamin areas, thanks to the repairs done so wisely by the Government. So we need not be afraid of the boggy of famine and talk about famine conditions prevailing in many districts. We have experienced a number of famines and we have got over them, these years. In Rayalaseema, steps have been taken by Government, and the famine has almost been brought under control. Water has been brought to remote villages, thanks to the help of the military and other public organizations.

“ Sir, when we talk about food rationing and other things we are generally led to think about decontrolling of foodgrains. Food commodities have to be decontrolled as also others. But how to decontrol when controls have been in operation for so many years, is the problem. Decontrolling of one commodity may lead to complication in other spheres. Hence the Government ought to take a comprehensive view of these controls and so co-ordinate the policy so that when decontrol is brought into force there will be no dislocation in trade and industry, especially in the agricultural industry of this country.

“ Sir, much has been talked about the handloom industry. There are a large number of families, lakhs and lakhs of them, who are hereditary handloom weavers. This has become a cottage industry so much so, all the sons and daughters that are born in those families take to that industry. In this connexion I would like to utter a word of warning to the Government, as also to other political thinkers in this country. In a country like ours, to encourage this handloom weaving for all the sons and daughters of those families as a hereditary occupation, are we sure that all the cloth produced by the industry could be marketed either within this country or outside? Are we sure that if yarn for the full working of the looms were provided, the cloth produced by these looms could be marketed either in India or outside? What is the consuming power of this country, what is the exportable surplus and what is the consuming capacity of other foreign countries? These have to be gauged. Some time back when yarn was distributed liberally to looms there was a slump in this industry. There is therefore no use of merely expressing sympathy for these people. We must gauge first the capacity of the industry, the capacity for local consumption, the extent to which we can export and the acceptability of our handloom products in other countries and then fix only such number of looms as are required to produce the required quantity of cloth and nothing more. If by this arrangement

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the sons and daughters of handloom weaving families find it difficult to earn their livelihood it is the business of the Government to find some other work for them so that they may not go without work.

" Sir, next comes the problem of literacy. Our country is still illiterate. Our Chief Minister who is the author of the book '*Thambi Va*' knows well how to liquidate this illiteracy, especially among adults. Education, Sir, has to be carried to every house. It must be free. It must be compulsory. Especially in a country like ours where adult franchise has been granted, every one must be an educated person. The Constitution itself envisages this within ten years. I hope, Sir, our Government will take measures to ensure literacy among our people within the prescribed time.

" Then there is the question of the reconstitution of the local boards. The local boards as they are, the district boards and other boards are a misnomer. They have no proper machinery. They have no powers. They have no right to exist as they are. Either they should be given greater powers or they should be completely wiped out for which I will not feel sorry.

" There is again the village problem. All the villages must get connected to the main roads by village roads. Every village must have a first-class road, every village must have a reading room, every village must have good drinking water. Much has been done in this direction by the firka development schemes and by the working of the panchayats in the various districts. The panchayats have been able to provide the villages with good drinking water, roads wherever possible, schools and in some cases reading rooms and community radio sets. This can further be developed by our present Government by expanding the firka development schemes. We are glad that we will be able in a short time to put into operation 'community projects'. I would only ask that these projects should not be confused with the firka development schemes. They are separate units by themselves each catering to the needs of a group of villages in a large locality whereas the firka development scheme is a local one and is run mostly by the help, finance and administrative help given by the public and the Government. I would therefore like, that even if 'community projects' are taken up in our State, the firka development schemes should be continued and expanded.

" I do not want to talk on the other problems that are confronting us. Suffice it to say that all these problems will have to be considered by the Government and suitable steps taken to deal with them. We are glad that His Excellency has told us that at the next meeting he will be giving us a comprehensive account of the policy of the Government. It is not even a month since this Government was formed. It is too early to ask of the Government to formulate their policies and schemes and say what they propose to do in the future. They must be given time to think about, to co-ordinate and find ways and means for the schemes

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to be put through for the alleviation of the sufferings of the people. Then alone will the Government be in a position to give us their policies, schemes and other things.

" Much was talked, Sir, about the formation of the Ministry. I am conscious that I am treading on delicate ground but I should tell the House that the selection of the Ministry is really praiseworthy act of His Excellency. The Chief Minister is a tried person who has fought the battle for the country's freedom. By his breadth of vision, deep insight into things and his political statesmanship he has been able to give us so many schemes that are to our permanent benefit. People were talking about uplifting the Harijans and so on but were not able to raise their little fingers to help them. But it was our Chief Minister who gave us the Harijan freedom movement. It was he who gave us the Temple Entry Scheme when the other parties were only talking about it. He has given us a number of schemes which have worked to the good of the people. He gave the ryots their charter, the Agriculturists Debt Relief Act. He gave us many more things. In this connection I would like to say that he has a very soft corner in his heart for labour. My meomory goes back to thirty years; when amidst flying bullets and piercing bayonets he came all the way from Salem to Madurai to defend Dr. Varadarajalu Naidu in a labour dispute which was so acute in those days. The agricultural labourers are indebted to him. They will be more indebted if agricultural wages are fixed by an Act at an early date.

" I want to say a few words about the party which the Hon. Chief Minister is leading. It is a party which has fought the freedom battle for the country. The members of that party gave their life, property and all for attaining the independence of our country. That party has come forward now to lead the country, to lead our State. That of course is legitimate, and every one knows this. In his heart of hearts every one will feel that it is just and proper that that party should be helped. That that party has been wisely selected to run the administration and that our Chief Minister has been wisely selected to lead it has been borne out by events that have happened since.

" I do not want to take up the time of this House any longer. I would say in conclusion that democracy has been established here. We are here as representatives of the people. It is our duty to see that that democracy is safely guarded and respected. It is our duty to see that all the benefits of this democracy enures to the electorate who sent us here. We must tread in the true path of democracy. We shall not do otherwise. It is difficult to sit on the edge of a knife. Any time you forget that you are on the sharp edge of the knife you may be cut. So it is always wise to sit down, meditate and see which side is safe and join that side.

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" The beautiful lime fruit cannot be poised on the point of the sword unless it gets pierced. Therefore it is always safe to see where you sit and upon what you sit before deciding upon the person with whom you are to associate yourself. I therefore request all those who have seceded from the Congress for some

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reason or other to join the Congress ranks again. There is nothing shameful about it. There is nothing to regret in doing so. We would welcome all of them as brothers gone astray. With these words, Mr. Speaker, I feel happy in seconding the resolution."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Motion moved—

"That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor as follows :—

"May it please Your Excellency,

We, the Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly, beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Address delivered to both the Houses of the Legislature on the 6th of May."

* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a historic occasion in the history of South India and particularly in the history of the political life of this country. As you are aware we have just passed through the elections, the biggest experiment in our democracy. The elections have proved a signal success. Many doubted the wisdom of adult franchise and many there were who thought that it would be a failure. The successful conclusion of the elections based on adult franchise which we had recently, has cleared all their doubts. Further it should be said to the credit of the Government that they were able to make efficient arrangements for the conduct of elections. Might I say, above all these the restraint exhibited by all parties and individuals who contested the elections all over India and particularly in South India was to a great extent responsible for the very smooth manner in which the elections were conducted. It is a matter for gratification to all concerned that on the whole everything went off peacefully.

" Sir, only yesterday while I was felicitating you on your election as Speaker of this House, I referred to the history of our legislature during the last fifty years. We started with an Assembly of fifty persons. Now we have a full-blown House with as many as 376 members. This Assembly is an admixture of old men, middle-aged men and young men. It is very refreshing to see many young faces around me. They are all anxious to do their bit for the sake of the country.

" Sir, yesterday while I was reading the *Times of India* I came across an article written by V.V.K. I should heartily commend that article not only to hon. Members but to all who have the welfare of the country at heart. I may be permitted to mention one salient point in that article which says that the situation in the country is such that men who are charged with the responsibility of managing the affairs of the country should be men of integrity and sterling character. I have no doubt, Sir, that men who have come here are men of integrity and I have no doubt that the proceedings of this House (might I say the proceedings of the Government even) would be conducted in such a high level resulting in the welfare of the country. One thing that we should expect from every hon. Member, whether in the Opposition

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or not, in constructive criticism. I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that you are quite aware how I am never tired of criticising, let it be the Prime Minister of India or the Chief Minister of our State or any other Minister of the Government whenever necessary."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" But you are different now."

* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" I am capable of expressing myself freely irrespective of whoever is in office and I am capable of saying what I feel is right. With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I may be permitted to remark that, if even to-day my esteemed friend Mr. Viswanatham decides to join the Government I would be the first person to support such a move. Mr. Viswanatham is an experienced politician and it is a loss to the Government that he is not in the Cabinet." (Cheers.)

MR. SPEAKER :—" Hon. Members should not clap their hands."

* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" I can claim acquaintance with the legislature of this State from the year 1937, and I should like to say that at all times, whether I was in the Opposition or not, I have never failed to offer my constructive criticisms whenever I thought it fit. It should be said to the credit of our dear Rajaji, as he is affectionately called, that while he was the Premier in the 1937 Government, he gave ample opportunities for the sixty members of the then Opposition to offer their criticisms. I am proud to say that I was the Leader of the Opposition at that time. I am proud to say that we did not then suffer from lack of opportunity to criticise the Government. Whenever he found a reasonable amendment proposed by the Opposition, Rajaji had the firm determination to tell his colleagues that he was going to accept that amendment as it had appeared to him to be reasonable. That was the healthy parliamentary tradition which had been set up then and I want, Mr. Speaker, that the same healthy tradition should be imbibed by the present Assembly also.

" Sir, we are here as representatives of the people. It is for the specific purpose of redressing their grievances by offering constructive criticisms on the floor of the House we have come here. You are no doubt aware how during the five and a half years when the Congress was in office, viz., 1946-52, I had never failed to offer constructive suggestions whenever I considered it desirable, and you are also no doubt aware how I had been putting supplementary questions during question-time.

" Sir, the new Ministry has assumed office only very recently. It is of the utmost importance that we should give it sufficient time to study all the problems confronting it in detail. Let us wait and see. Let us not be going on asking questions of a trivial nature. If at all we want a stable Government we should see to it that our criticisms are offered in a constructive manner."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHY :—" On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I should like to know whether the hon. Member is lecturing to the Opposition or simply speaking on the Governor's Address? "

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* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—“ While welcoming the entry of my esteemed friend Mr. Ramamurthi, I should like to inform him that if he makes such a speech like this on the Governor's Address, he will never be interrupted. While speaking on the Governor's Address, I am free to talk on topics concerning the welfare of the State which is dear to my heart. I am confining myself only to that subject.

“ I should like to say, Mr. Speaker, that eminent people like Sri P. Rajagopalachari, Sri A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Dr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty and Sri P. T. Rajan have adorned our legislature and our deliberations have always been conducted on such a high level which evoked the admiration of all. I am glad that one of them, Sri P. T. Rajan, is here amidst us now. The reason for my mentioning those names is my sincere belief that we as hon. Members of the House will emulate the great example set by those parliamentarians.

“ Mr. Speaker, coming to the Governor's Address in particular, I should like to mention that we have been really very fortunate in having Shri Sri Prakasa as our Governor. He is a distinguished parliamentarian and has done yeoman service to the country. By asking Sri C. Rajagopalachari to form the Government, he has not shown any personal favour. No ulterior motive should be attributed to him for that action. He has done it with the best of intentions and we should be ever grateful to him for having asked, under the circumstances prevailing in this State, the great statesman, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, to lead the Government.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, I would like to know whether the hon. Member could talk about the conduct of the Governor and whether we also would be allowed sufficient time to talk about his action? ”

* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—“ I am not casting any reflection on the conduct of the Governor. I am only referring to the constitution of the present Government of Madras. We ought to feel glad that we are now having the benefit of having Rajaji at the helm of affairs. We should all wish him long life for the good of the country. What we need is a stable Government. Particularly after the general election, with a full-blown House with as many as 375 hon. Members adorning it and the Congress Party not having an absolute majority, it is of the utmost importance that there should be a stable Government in this State.

“ Otherwise, what is the use of our going to the electorate again and asking them to elect us as their representatives? It is not for mere fun that we have got elected. We have got ourselves elected to form a Government—whether it be by the Congress Party or any other party. I do not mind any other party than the Congress forming the Government. After all some party must take up the responsibility of running the Government. Otherwise, the whole election procedure of getting 375 members elected to the House might become unnecessary. It is from that point of view I am saying that we should have some kind of Government in this

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State. If the Governor's decision is wrong, it has to be proved that it is wrong and there is no point in merely criticising that it is wrong. The House should prove that the decision is wrong.

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are one or two more points which I should like to urge on this Government. This Government should make effective representations to the Government of India. Sir, you are, in this connexion, well aware of my criticism during the last few years that the Madras Government have not had sufficient influence with the Government of India and they have not made effective recommendations, particularly in the matter of food supplies to this part of the country. In fact, I have never been tired of urging that the Food Minister of this Government should go to Delhi, sit at the doors of the Government of India, do satyagraha, if necessary, and somehow or other get more food to this State.

" Now, Sir, as the hon. Member, Mr. Ramaswami Nayudu, said, it is not a question of Rayalaseema, or Guntur or Chittoor alone suffering under famine conditions, but there are very many other parts of this State which are under permanent famine conditions. In fact, there are several taluks of several districts from Dhanushkodi onwards where famine conditions are prevailing. For instance, it may not be a whole district, but parts of a district may be under famine conditions and if all such areas are combined together, they may be equal in area to a few districts. Therefore, Sir, it is absolutely necessary that food must be sent to these areas.

" Sir, I am very glad that the Government have made a bold and honest statement that 14 lakhs tons is the shortage in production this year, of which 10 lakhs tons is in rice and 4 lakhs tons in millets. But we are astonished to read in the Address that only 2 lakhs tons of rice have been promised by the Government of India. It is a pity that only 2 lakhs tons of rice will be given to this State. But, I do hope that the Madras Government will be able to impress on the Government of India the need to send us more rice. It is encouraging, however, to read from the papers a couple of days ago that 1,800 tons of rice will be reaching Madras every day from Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, for the next four months, to make up the 2 lakhs of tons of rice. I do hope that the Government will be able to set up a proper machinery to see that there is no lapse in this matter and that every day we are assured of the 1,800 tons. If that be so, will it be too much to say that we can expect to get more than the promised 2 lakhs tons?

" I do hope, Sir, that this Government will impress upon the Government of India that the people of South India cannot accept wheat and milo, and that the people here are too poor and cannot afford to buy the oil and other things required for wheat preparations. I have time and again stated on the floor of this House that the people of South India can only afford to cook the rice, add a pinch of salt and take it with a chilli in the mouth and nothing more. It is, therefore, necessary to tell the Government of India that only rice is needed for the State.

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“ Again, Sir, it is refreshing to read the statement made by the Prime Minister of India—I wish he had said so a year ago—that the people in the north might conserve rice for the sake of the people of South India. I do not know whether that statement of the Prime Minister has borne fruit. On this occasion, I would like to tell the Government of India that the people of Madras will not accept wheat or milo and that they want only rice. On the other hand, if rice is not given, but only wheat or milo, it will be only a waste, because the people will not be able to consume wheat in this part of the country.

“ Now, Sir, about famine conditions, I would like to refer to one other matter. (The Hon. Mr. A. B. Shetty, while acting as the Finance Minister of this State, made a statement on the floor of the House that the Government of India were going to give us Rs. 2 crores as loan and Rs. 48 lakhs as grant. Now, we find in the statement of His Excellency the Governor that only Rs. 48 lakhs has been given as a grant and not the Rs. 2 crores loan. It looks as if the Government of India have done the broker's job. The Adviser Government handed down to us Government paper of the value of Rs. 42 crores, of which Rs. 24 crores had been already exhausted and we have still Rs. 18 crores. To say that out of Rs. 18 crores, they cannot give even Rs. 2 crores as loan, is a thing which we cannot swallow. They must give us a real loan. They may, however, say that a loan or a grant means only money and that if it is a loan it means repayment. I think the Government of India should be told that Rs. 2 crores is not enough. I can only give a rough estimate—because I have no figures at hand—that at least Rs. 5 crores should be given to us either as a loan or as a grant by the Government of India.

“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not wish to take up the time of the House except to refer to the necessity for increasing the famine relief measures. I may be permitted to state in this connexion that the steps taken by the Government so far in the direction of famine relief are noteworthy and praiseworthy. I only hope that the Government will continue their best efforts in the matter of giving relief to the famine areas. We are glad that they have already given relief by way of land revenue remissions. On this occasion, I want to impress on the Government strongly that they should give revenue remissions and other relief not only in the areas which they have declared as famine areas, but also in many other parts in South India which are really under famine conditions.

“ In conclusion, let me say that it was quite refreshing to hear hon. Members from all parts of the House while congratulating you, Sir, on your election as Speaker, saying that this House is going to be in existence for five years. It does not matter whether this set of Ministers or this party is in power during these five years or another set of Ministers or any other party is in power. Anyway, the fact that this State is assured of a Government for another five years, that this House is vouchsafed a life of five years and that you are going to preside over it during this period, is a matter for congratulation for all the Members of this House.”

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MR. SPEAKER :—“ It appears that a large number of Members want to take part in this debate and so, I fix a time-limit of ten minutes for each hon. Member to speak.”

* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, our country is a country of problems of great complexity. The size of the country is a problem; the population of the country is a problem; and there are God-made problems as well as problems made by ourselves. Now that we have become independent, naturally everybody expected that Ramarajya would be assured and that Ramarajya would come of its own accord. These four years have shown that Ramarajya, if it is to come, has to be worked for by every one in the country irrespective of the fact whether he was part of the Government or not. After the advent of the new Constitution, it was a great event in the history of the country to see 17 crores of our people, into whose hands sovereignty had passed from one person, going to the polls to have their own Government of their free choice and free will. The fact that they did it with so much of political maturity augurs very well for the future of the country and democracy. They have given us the privilege of being the representatives of the people and they expect us to solve all their great problems. Sometimes my imagination staggers whether we would be able to justify that confidence because they expect too much that we will be able to solve the problems, the magnitude of which has been explained to them very well during the elections, both by us and our opponents. Several promises have been held out by all of us, to whichever party we belong. I know that most of the promises could be fulfilled only if we all act in unison and think of the good of the people whom we seek to serve. It is only then that we shall be able to discharge our responsibilities truly and well. Sir, I have always had a feeling that whatever we do here in this House will reach the farthest corners of the world and our newspapers have made our people politically conscious. They are watching every one of our movements and every word that is uttered by their representatives in this House. When I see the press and the visitors' galleries, I have a fear whether we are conducting ourselves as well as the public are expecting us to do. Well, as a young man, I may be more idealistic as all young men are, and I have yet to learn from experience whether it is worthwhile being an idealist at all. After all of us having said so much about the Constitution and having owed allegiance to it as a matter of fact, I was feeling very miserable to see that, when His Excellency came to this House the other day to address the Members of the Legislature, there should have been a walk-out. I am not saying here whether the walk-out was right or wrong. All that Mr. Prakasam said amounted to this : Either His Excellency should go out without addressing the House or he and his friends would walk out.

“ Now, Sir, coming to the Address itself, the Governor's Address is supposed to indicate the policy of the party in power. That Address has not given any indication as to what exactly the

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problems are and how they are going to be tackled. It only shows the magnitude of the problems which came for very careful consideration of the Government. His Excellency has promised to address us again in June. All that we can do on this occasion is only to make a few suggestions. The problem of food is the greatest problem that is facing us to-day. It is a sorry plight of all of us that even after all this talk of Independence, we should depend on other countries for food. It is necessary that in this matter of food, we should not depend on other countries whether it is America or Russia. We have to solve the problem ourselves and no Government can solve the problem unless the people co-operate with it. On this occasion I appeal to all the Government servants who are, I am sure, no less patriotic than we are, to co-operate with the Government and the people in trying to solve the problem as early as possible as the people would expect us to do.

" Well, Sir, I have always had a feeling as I was going round my constituency, that it was necessary that land reforms should have the immediate attention of the Government. I believe that this is one of the problems that ought to be solved if the food problem is to be solved. I believe the tiller of the soil should be made to feel that he has his part to play in the economic development of the State. Well, if he feels that he has no stake in agriculture, naturally he will not be inclined to play his part well. The Government must therefore pass without delay tenancy legislation which will give a sort of permanency of tenure.

" The conflicting sections of the public like the landlords and the tenants, the capitalists and the labourers should not try to enrich themselves alone at the expense of the common man. All problems, therefore, should be viewed not from these sectional points of view but from the point of view of the community at large. I have seen large tracts of cultivable land which have been neglected by the landlords. I wish that we have a legislation as in England which will make every landlord realize that he is only a trustee of the land he holds and that he has to play his part well in improving the methods of agriculture and enriching the soil for getting an increased yield for the benefit of the society.

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p.m.

" So much has been said about adult education. I think it is one of the important problems facing this State. But I wish that the problem of adult education is better left to the people and the Government confine themselves to the education of children. If money is spent on adult education to the neglect of the education of children, I am sure the problem of adult education will continue for ever and ever and the Government will have to go on spending to tackle the problem.

" I now turn to industries. A reference has been made in the Governor's Address to the plight of those engaged in the handloom industry. I feel that the distress in that industry has been brought about by controls. In India, a lop-sided economy has developed to such an extent that sometimes it becomes difficult to say where

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exactly the corrective has to be applied. At one stage, I found that the cloth manufactured out of yarn was cheaper than the yarn itself and that the yarn manufactured out of cotton was cheaper than the cotton itself. Similarly in the field of employment, we find that the employment of the educated is cheaper than the employment of the illiterate classes who are getting a considerably higher wage. The provision of a balanced economy to the middle classes is one of the serious problems facing this State. An entire family consisting of about six persons has to depend for their maintenance on the earnings of one or two members. Even when there is a rise in prices or even a fall, the fundamental defect in the family organization is not removed. Unless the Government take early steps to put some more income into the hands of middle-class families, it will be extremely difficult for these families to survive. After all the middle class is the backbone of our democracy.

"Sir, I have known the conditions in Rayalaseema. I come from the district of South Kanara where everything is green and we are getting plenty of rain. It is a pity that rain is falling in a place where so much of it is not required when there are other parts which are badly in need of it. Our sympathies go to the people of Rayalaseema. The famine problem there is a problem for the State as a whole and not for Rayalaseema alone. I know that whatever steps the Government take will be inadequate from the point of view of the common people, because the people might be expecting too much and the Government will not be able to do much. I would like to make one suggestion. In areas where famine has become chronic, the Government must devise permanent measures like the execution of a big irrigation scheme for Rayalaseema. No political party can make rains fall. The only course is to find an alternative.

"With these words, I support the motion."

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to offer my humble suggestions on behalf of my party as to what the Government should do to help Rayalaseema and other areas which are in the grip of famine. His Excellency has confined his Address only to two points—the plight of handloom weavers and the distress in famine areas. The tendency for the growth of factories in the recent past will completely throw out of employment lakhs of handloom weavers in this State. I will confine my remarks to the famine that is raging in Rayalaseema and other areas. That His Excellency has confined his Address only to famine and the plight of handloom industry is indicative of the fact that famine is the one thing that the administrative machinery in this State should attend to. All people, all attention and all machinery and other resources should be diverted to wage this war against famine, which is a challenge to the Administration, a challenge to the great leaders who have taken up the reins of administration and a challenge to this House as to what suggestions it is going to offer to afford relief to the people who are suffering as a result of this famine. What is this famine due to? It has not been created by

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human beings. As we read the history of Rayalaseema for the last one century, we find that the one thing that Rayalaseema can boast of is famine. We had famines in 1864, 1874 and 1875. We have read in history about half a dozen famines in which many people died and many people left their villages once for all. The present famine in Rayalaseema will go down in history as a famine resulting in the complete extermination of cattle. We in Rayalaseema have lost orange and mango gardens worth several crores of rupees. Even tamarind trees which generally stand any amount of want of water are dying. The Government propose to do something and they appear to be doing something. As my hon. Friend Mr. Pai said, what the Government do can only be a flea-bite. Perhaps that is the position, considering the financial resources of this State Government and the little help that they are getting from the Government of India. But how are the people of Rayalaseema to be saved? Do the Government want them to leave their places and settle elsewhere? Can the Government provide them with alternative places to settle in comfortably? Are the Government prepared and determined to do something to exterminate the famine for ever? We have been reading in the newspapers about every one sympathizing with Rayalaseema. But what has been done? We had one Government for five years and several Ministers visited Rayalaseema. What have they done? There are rivers flowing through Rayalaseema. Bring their waters up and we will have a Rayalaseema green for ever. There is scope for industrializing the area. Gold, diamond, iron, copper, sulphur and several other raw materials that this country needs are available. Have this State Government or the Central Government investigated the possibility of industrializing Rayalaseema? Nothing has been done by this Government or the Central Government. The Krishna waters are flowing through the area, and the famine can be eradicated by harnessing them. I would like my friends in the Circars and Tamilnad, who are fighting for the Krishna waters, to see that those waters are utilized for the eradication of famine in Rayalaseema. There is much talk about big projects and river valley projects. But nothing has been done. I ask this Government to suggest to the Planning Commission or the Central Government to take up in Rayalaseema some projects for harnessing the waters of the Krishna and for industrial development. Many friends and Ministers have seen the condition of Rayalaseema. His Excellency himself has seen and has been moved by the distress. But what can he do? Our Hon. Chief Minister is an able man, who is loved, adored and appreciated by one and all in the State. People in Rayalaseema have got the confidence that Rajaji will do something. The one thing that is scarce in Rayalaseema is drinking water for human beings and cattle. Several friends, especially, the Raja of Chettinad, referred to the need for supplying more food to the people of the State. The Government may allot several lakhs tons of food for Rayalaseema. But the people there have absolutely no purchasing power. Enquire from any branch of the Imperial Bank of India in Rayalaseema as to how much gold has been pledged with it, how much of the pledge has been redeemed and what the

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present credit position is. There is no work for the people to enable them to earn wages. They do not like to live on the charity of philanthropists or the grants given by the Government, though they humbly and with thanks accept charity as and when it comes. It is the duty of the Government to provide them with work to enable them to earn wages. The Government were kind enough to allot 40 lakhs of rupees for Chittoor, 40 lakhs for Cuddapah, 20 lakhs for Kurnool and 20 lakhs for Anantapur. In what way are you going to spend these lakhs of rupees?"

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member should not say 'you' when referring to the Government. 'You' refers to the Chair."

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—"Sir, I am sorry for the mistake. I shall follow your advice hereafter."

"The entire allotment will not be spent and I am sure a good portion of it will be resumed by the Government in November or December, by which time it is proposed to close the famine relief works. Though money has been provided, necessary technical staff like overseers, supervisors and engineers have not been appointed to measure and check up a work when it is completed. I understand that in the Circars and elsewhere where there is plenty of water, engineering staff is being used for the provision of protected water-supply. Cannot the provision of protected water-supply for those districts wait for a few months and the people continue to drink the water that they have been drinking for years and years to enable the concentration of all technical staff on famine relief works in Rayalaseema? I hope the Government will divert the available technical staff to Rayalaseema. The wealth of Rayalaseema is being lost to a very great extent and we may not be able to recoup for another twenty-five or thirty years. The people have not got the cattle to plough the lands when the rains come. Cattle are being marched in thousands to the slaughter houses in Oorgaum near Bangalore and Ranipet near Madras. The price of hides and skins has fallen because of the slaughter of too many cattle. I would like my friends who doubt my statement to go to the places mentioned and verify the fact for themselves. In Rayalaseema, the food of the poor Harijans is the flesh of buffaloes, cows and bulls that are being slaughtered in thousands."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is up."

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—"What all things require to be done in Rayalaseema have been represented to the Ministers by individuals and the general public. I suggest that the Government take steps to 'practicalise' everything that they propose to do."

"It may be said that lack of funds stands in the way of providing adequate relief. I would like to suggest to the Government two methods for augmenting the resources. One is the auctioning of bus-routes. Though there are some friends in this House who are very much interested in bus-routes, I make this

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suggestion. If the present law does not permit it, legislation must be introduced as early as possible to permit the auctioning of bus-routes.

"My hon. Friend Mr. Ramaswami Naidu referred to Rajaji, our Leader, as the giver of many things. I would suggest to the giver to take back one thing and that is prohibition. Prohibition has been a failure according to the experience of the public and some of the Congress legislators sitting here. Let us not stand on false prestige and lose the Rs. 20 crores or so that would accrue by the removal of prohibition."

SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, Harijans constitute more than one-fifth of the total State population. Under Part XVI of the Constitution of India, special safeguards are provided for Harijans for a period of ten years and two years have already elapsed. So, it is necessary for me to suggest . . ."

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p.m.

(At this stage, hon. Member Sri P. Ramamurthi was seen crossing the floor.)

MR. SPEAKER :—"Order, order. The hon. Member should not cross the floor between the Speaker and an hon. Member who is speaking. Now let the hon. Member Sri Rajeswara Rao continue his speech."

SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO :—"It is necessary for me to ask the Government what has been the effect of the various measures formulated by the Government of Madras and also of the various provisions made in the Constitution.

"The evil of untouchability, which has been abolished by the Constitution, is still present in each and every village in the same degree as before, though not in big towns and cities. The Removal of Civil Disabilities Act and the Temple Entry Act and the Prohibition Act are not properly enforced. Specially I am led to feel that the two pieces of legislation, namely, the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act and the Temple Entry Act, are nothing but a mere eye-wash and the Prohibition Act, as far as it relates to the Harijans, is nothing but a farce. In this connection, I would like to submit to the House that though this Government have proposed and adopted several ameliorative measures, they have not been brought to the knowledge or notice of the public and the Harijans especially, for whom they are intended. The Government have not so far reviewed the effect of the various ameliorative measures taken by them. I would also like to submit to the House that the attitude of several Government officers towards the Harijans in the matter of assignment of lands is not encouraging. There are several complaints to this effect and I hope the Government will take proper care of the Harijans.

"Though the Government established a separate Department for Harijan Uplift, except for the recognition of certain bogus hostels, I don't think any material and substantial benefit has accrued to the Harijans in general. There are several complaints

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with regard to the attitude of certain District Harijan Welfare Officers towards some sub-castes among Harijans. I would submit that the Government must look into these things.

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, His Excellency the Governor has elaborately dealt with the various measures, ameliorative measures and relief measures, undertaken for the famine-stricken people in Rayalseema. It has appeared in the papers and has been brought to the notice of the Government from time to time that the Harijans and the Christians there are the worst victims. But it is not known to the public whether the Government have done anything substantial for the relief of the Harijans there. I regret that the Governor's Address has omitted to mention anything about Harijans in this respect.

" Sir, under Article 338 of the Constitution of India, the President of the Indian Republic has appointed a Special Officer to investigate into all matters relating to the special safeguards provided for the Harijans in the various States. He was appointed one year ago. But it is not known yet whether the said officer has toured this State and studied the conditions of the Harijans and whether any report has been submitted to the President in that respect.

" Sir, it is surprising to find that there is no mention in His Excellency's Address about Harijan uplift measures. It has, however, been stated that there will be a comprehensive review of all matters which are important from the point of view of the welfare and development of the State, in the next Budget session. Therefore, I hope that the Government will consider the question of the uplift of the Harijans in general and also the question of the existence of sub-castes among the Harijans and that a comprehensive report would be submitted to the House on the occasion of the Governor's Address so that the apprehensions existing in the minds of the public and the Harijans in particular may be wiped out.

" Then, Sir, I am surprised to find that the Harijan portfolio has been assigned to a Brahman, particularly when there is a Harijan Minister in the Cabinet itself. It is regrettable to note that the public as well as the Harijan Members here are made to doubt whether it is considered that a Harijan is not competent to look after the welfare of the Harijans. I really cannot understand the implications of this action. Therefore, I would like the Government to clarify the position in this respect as soon as possible.

" Finally, I hope that the Government would review all the measures and submit a comprehensive report on the occasion of the Governor's Address in the next Budget session. With these words, I resume my seat."

* SRI G. LATCHANNA :—Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to thank His Excellency the Governor particularly for the frank manner in which he spoke about the situation in the State, by saying that within the short period the present Government has been in office, they could not be expected to go at full speed and formulate their

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policy. It is perfectly clear to everybody that due to inefficient administration in the past the conditions in the State are confusing, and we have come to such a state that almost all the legislations that have been enacted are merely on paper and have not been implemented in practice. This will apply to the question of Prohibition, controls and many other matters. So, we hope that the Government will study the situation well and consider particularly the issue of the landless poor and agricultural labourers. That is indeed a very important issue. The Government must find out some means of solving the problem.

" Now, Sir, our Government have in the past failed, at least not cared, to study the problem of fishermen in the State. I must say and I hope everybody will agree that the social and economic conditions of the millions of these people in the State are worse than anything. They are backward not only in social and economic affairs but, if any Hon. Minister of the State Government will take some pains to visit the coastal villages of our State, he will find that not less than 10 per cent of the resident population are suffering from all sorts of diseases, particularly leprosy and tuberculosis, Sir, tuberculosis is very common in the coastal areas due to lack of proper food, and the position of the people there is worse still on account of the changes in Burma politics. Most of the residents there are depending on Burma. About 90 per cent of the people there dealing in fisheries used to go regularly to Burma and once in three years or four years they will come back and stay here in their homes just for three months or six months. In spite of so many deputations and representations of the Burma refugees no steps have been taken by the Government at least to study their position. They have not cared to know how many such families there are in the coastal districts and what their economic and living standards are. They have been completely left to their own fate. His Excellency the Governor has, however, assured us that in the next Session he will give full and clear details about the policies and programmes of the Government regarding every subject. I hope the fishermen problem and the Burma evacuee problem, which is the major problem in the coastal districts, will receive the special attention of the Government.

" Now, I come to the question of Prohibition and the connected issue of ex-tappers. We all know how Prohibition is working in the districts. But I shall say only one thing and that is that in addition to the loss in income, our Government are spending every year four or five crores of rupees, only to encourage corruption and immorality in the State. Nothing substantial has been done to enforce Prohibition strictly. Moreover, the Government are enabling the contractors to earn their livelihood but not the poor ex-tappers who are spread out in thousands and lakhs throughout the State. Of course, the Government may say that there are co-operative societies for the tapping of sweet toddy and manufacture of jaggery. But if only we would go into the question and find out how many co-operative societies there are which are manufacturing jaggery in this way and how much each individual gets

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as remuneration for his labour per day, we must admit that it is all nothing but a show. Really the ex-tappers should not be thrown into the wilderness. The Government must provide sufficient rehabilitation facilities to them. If not, they would be compelled to earn their livelihood by all sorts of means. I hope the present Government will take note of this and take necessary action.

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p.m.

"The Government must also take steps to improve the conditions of labour. The present procedure adopted by the Centre as well as the State regarding the settlement of disputes between the employees and the employers is not at all satisfactory. The parties will have to wait for months and months. Even small questions have to go before the Tribunal which usually takes three or four months or even six months. This is the position. This procedure must be changed. The State must take up the issue in right earnest and urge upon the Central Government and see that they bring forward a comprehensive labour legislation touching all important matters concerning labour. It is high time the Central Government amend the present legislation. Otherwise, they must at least give permission to the State Government to take necessary steps to solve this problem. I hope the present Ministry will certainly look into the matter and do something tangible. With these words, I support the motion."

SRI K. V. RAMESAM :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, while thanking His Excellency for the speech that he delivered the other day, I submit that it is most disappointing and barren in that it shows no initiative which is so necessary for this august Assembly. I am afraid that the failure of monsoon in Rayalaseema might have affected the past Ministry. I think that it has partly affected His Excellency too. I say this because I find that his speech is so dry and does not give any idea as to the policies that are going to be enunciated by the Government in the near future. However, I would like to suggest a few points for the consideration of the Government so that by considering those points, our new Ministers may take some interest in implementing some of the measures. I come from the Visakhapatnam district. There, conditions are almost on a par with those in Rayalaseema. Though there are rains in that part of the country, the available resources are not properly utilised. If only the Government had in time improved or renovated the tanks in that part of the State, it would have been greatly conducive to the prosperity of the people of that district. It is a pity that that part is mostly a zamindari area which has been taken up by the Government some three years back. Till now no steps have been taken by the Government to improve the lot of the zamindari tenants. All the hon. Members are aware of the fact that the Zamindari Abolition Act came into operation in 1947 and till now no steps have been taken for the amelioration of the zamin ryots. The introduction of the Rent Reduction Act and several other pieces of legislation by the previous Ministry has only resulted in enormous litigation which has become universal. Those measures only

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helped a few lawyers who got enriched, and did not help the poor tenants. So, I respectfully appeal to the present Ministry that urgent steps should be taken to ameliorate the condition of the zamin ryots by conferring occupancy rights on all those persons who occupied zamin lands and granting ryotwari pattas to them. In this connection, I must bring to the notice of all the hon. Members that the condition of the tenants-at-will throughout the State is very peculiar. An Ordinance should be issued that until substantial land reforms are introduced in right earnest, the tenants who are now cultivating the lands should not be evicted. Unless this is done, I am afraid that a large body of tenants cultivating the lands might be evicted and a permanent injury to these tenants will be the result. Therefore, I appeal to all the hon. Members irrespective of the parties to which they may belong to consider this point carefully. Suitable reforms should be introduced to protect these tenants-at-will from eviction, as they are greatly assisting us in making the food problem easier of solution. Some reforms are necessary in the interests of the landlord and tenant. I therefore respectfully submit that this question of protection to the tenants may be immediately taken up pending a comprehensive legislation.

“ With reference to the Visakhapatnam district, I wish to bring one important point to the notice of the hon. Members. That district supplies a large quantity of jaggery which is consumed by the whole State. People in that part of the district offer to sell their goods at a very low price. Jaggery is a commodity needed by almost everybody. This year, there has been a steep fall in the price of jaggery in our taluk. If we allow the present unhappy state of affairs to continue, there is bound to be dissatisfaction among the people. We have made representations to the local authorities and also to the Government requesting them to come to our rescue by fixing a bottom price and also giving facilities for transport of jaggery to places outside the State. But till now there has been no response from the Government. Jaggery is a commodity in which everybody in the State is interested. I appeal to all our friends to take some interest in fixing the price of jaggery, a great quantity of which is being produced in the Visakhapatnam district. I request that the Government may be pleased to accord the necessary protection to this commodity, namely jaggery, by fixing, at least for the time being, some bottom price which would enable the ryots to produce jaggery next year. This is one of the important measures that the Government have to tackle in the immediate future.

“ There is another problem which also the Government should tackle without delay. The resources of the ryots are getting more and more meagre. They are not able to get proper credit facilities. The credit facilities must be improved. The existing machinery, like the Co-operative Land Mortgage Banks, etc., are not working satisfactorily. They are not sufficiently capable of meeting the demand. The loans that are distributed by the Government are not really helpful to the ryots. So far as my experience goes, the

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ryots are not able to get the necessary credit facilities from these banks. The Government must make stringent measures and ask the taluk as well as district officers to see that loans are freely given to all the ryots. Already many of them are heavily indebted. Unless some effective relief is afforded to them, they would be obliged to fall into the hands of the avaricious money-lenders. The result will be that they will be dragged into litigation and deprived of all that they have earned in the course of the past four years or so. My suggestion to the Hon. Ministers is that they should accord greater credit facilities to all these tenants so that they could get the necessary articles for the production of food without difficulty.

"I submit that our part of the State is very backward with regard to roads and other transport facilities. Several representations have been made in the past but there was no response. Especially, our place is a little away from the railway station. The Government must take some steps to afford greater transport facilities."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is up."

SRI K. V. RAMESAM :—"I am just concluding my speech, Sir. I only wish to appeal to the Government to give immediate effect to all these measures mentioned by me. Thank you, Sir."

* SRI M. MUNI REDDI :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, while thanking His Excellency the Governor for his address, I wish to point out that His Excellency has not given any idea of the policies of the Government. Yet the Mover of the motion and the seconder said that the Government wanted to do this and that. They praised the previous Government and their efforts to ameliorate the condition of the poor people. What I would like to suggest is this. The Rajaji Ministry must take early steps to set right the defects that existed in the previous Ministry. Had His Excellency the Governor enunciated the policies of the Government, the Members of this House would have been enabled to express their views and constructive criticisms on the various policies. His Excellency has said in his speech that there is food shortage and that it is due to the successive failure of the monsoon. In this connection, I would like to tell the hon. Members of this House that it is only due to the lack of foresight on the part of the previous Ministry, there is now shortage of foodstuffs in the State. They have not given their full care and attention to the agricultural problem. They spent about 8 crores of rupees on well-subsidies and other subsidies and loans. They spent enormous sums of money on Grow More Food schemes with no result. In this State more than 101 lakhs of acres are under irrigation. Out of this, more than 30 lakhs of acres are under tank irrigation. Most of the tanks have been silted up and so far the Government have not done anything to clear the silt and renovate these tanks. They have not paid any attention to Minor Irrigation schemes. The Government should take note of these things and pay greater attention to these matters.

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“ Sir, His Excellency the Governor in his address has stated ^{1 p.m.} that there is no reason to apprehend that there will be any deterioration in procurement of foodgrains. My honest submission is that the policy of controls and procurement of foodgrains pursued by the Government is not liked by the people and should be abolished, as soon as possible. During the transition period, that is, between now and the date of abolition and controls, I suggest, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the introduction of a graded system of levy based on the productivity of foodgrains with a fair minimum exemption limit and free movement of foodgrains. The present policy of controls and procurement of foodgrains has done much harm to the people and has resulted in their being exploited by the Government officials. With these words, I support the motion moved by Sri T. N. Venkatasubba Reddi.”

* KUMARASAMY RAJA BAHADUR (RAJA OF KARVET-NAGAR) :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hope the Hon. Chief Minister and other Ministers of the Government will pay due attention to the statement I wish to make. First of all, I wish to contradict a statement made by the hon. Member, Raja Muthiah Chettiar, about the peaceful conduct of the elections. In my constituency, i.e., Puttur, my opponent was my own uncle, Sri R. B. Ramakrishna Raju, Chairman of the former Legislative Council. He used all the influence in his power to see that the people did not vote for me. He made it impossible for the people to get their rations if they did not vote for him. He got many officials transferred thinking that they had been supporting me in the elections. His conduct in the elections was unbecoming of a gentleman. That is why I wish to contradict the statement of Raja Muthiah Chettiar that the elections in this State were conducted peacefully and fairly. The elections were never conducted peacefully and people in my own constituency were threatened that if they did not vote for my uncle who stood on the Congress ticket they would be harassed.

“ I am glad that the country has attained its Republican status as a result of the efforts put in by the Congress. But the fair name of the Congress has been spoiled on account of various reasons which the leaders of the Congress Party themselves are quite aware of and I do not wish to repeat them here. Raja Muthiah Chettiar in the course of his speech stated that Sri T. Viswanatham, leader of the K.M.P. Party, can even now become a Minister if he so wishes. I do not think that Sri Viswanatham will accept the offer of a Ministership and I consider it improper to adopt such unfair means.”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ Never, never. No such offer was made.”

* KUMARASAMY RAJA BAHADUR (RAJA OF KARVET-NAGAR) :—“ With regard to the famine prevailing in our areas, I wish to state that though the Government have been doing

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everything possible to render help to the people there, the Government officials have not been properly implementing the policies of the Government. I am sorry to say that the officials are not conducting themselves properly. I am a member of the Taluk Famine Relief Committee as also of the District Famine Relief Committee and I am very anxious to work for the good of the people. I want that from the Hon. Chief Minister downwards everyone should work for the welfare of the people. What is actually happening is that the famine relief works started by the Government have not been properly implemented by the officials. All village relief works must be entrusted to the villagers themselves. At present they are being entrusted to the contractors under the supervision of Government supervisors. I can prove that these officials get bribes from the contractors. Such things should be stopped and power should be given to the Taluk or District Famine Relief Committees or Members of the Legislature to entrust such relief works to villagers who wish to do some service to the people.

“Regarding Harijan welfare, I wish to state that there is no use of our sending them to the temples and asking them to worship the deities in the temple. I do not know what purpose will be served by asking them to worship God without giving them food and a place to live in. No useful purpose would be served by allowing them to live in isolated places like the cheris. We must take them into our fold and teach them the way to develop themselves socially and economically.

“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was not thinking of making a speech to-day. After hearing the several speeches made this morning, I thought that the present occasion is the best opportunity to say a few things about the famine prevailing in my area. However I will take another opportunity to speak more fully on the subject.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“It has been the convention in this House that Members who speak on the main motion will not be allowed to speak on the amendments. I have received a list of names of six members who wish to speak, from the Congress, K.L.P. and K.M.P. Parties. Just now I have received the names of two more Members who wish to speak, one each from the Socialist Party and the Toilers' Party. I shall be much obliged if the leaders of the other parties also send the names of Members who wish to speak.”

* SRI K. R. VISWANATHAN :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I regret that His Excellency the Governor in his address has failed to make any reference to the grievances of the Non-Gazetted officers. You know, Sir, the Non-Gazetted officers have been making representations to the Government about their grievances for the last two or three years. The present Government have made a show that they have done something to the Non-Gazetted officers by granting school-fee concessions to their children. This concessions help only a section of the Non-Gazetted officers. Most of the Non-Gazetted officers are in a very pitiable condition. Indeed

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most of them have already pledged the jewels of their womenfolk. I think the present Government after having learnt a lesson from the recent elections have come forward to do something to the Non-Gazetted officers. The bulk of the Non-Gazetted officers are not satisfied with what the Government have done. The recent Government Order granting school-fee concessions to the children of Non-Gazetted officers is iniquitous and is doing an injustice to the Government servants belonging to the backward classes because the children of the backward classes and Harijans are already enjoying a similar concession with regard to the education of their children. Under this Government Order, only the members of the forward classes get some benefit. Therefore I submit that the Government may so amend the order as to enable Government servants belonging to the backward classes and the Harijan community to get relief in some other form.

"You know, Sir, how the food controls have affected the morale of the country. The richer sections of the public have become corrupt and the poorer sections have borne all the misery resulting from controls.

"The poor sections of the people suffer a lot to get their daily necessities like food and clothing. The prohibition of inter-district movement of foodgrains has especially affected the poor people to a great extent. Poor workers carrying headloads of foodgrains required for their daily consumption are stopped at the borders; they are harassed and, if I may say so, they are even tortured. To the utter misery of these poor people these headloads are seized by the officials. It is tragic to note that sometimes mischief-mongers station themselves at the borders posing as petty officials, threaten the poor people carrying headloads of foodgrains and really waylay them. Because of these things, I would suggest that complete removal of control over transport of foodgrains should be brought into effect as soon as possible and an immediate relaxation of all restrictions on inter-district transport of foodgrains should be given effect to. Sir, I conclude with these words."

1-15
p.m.

* SRI M. K. PADMAPRABHA GOUNDER :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവണ്മെന്റുകൾക്കു 1952-ൽ 6-ാം നിയമസഭയിലെ സഭാംഗരായ ഒരു തൃപ്പൂക്കുടം പട്ടണവുമായി കണക്കാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ള ഗവണ്മെന്റുകൾക്കു സഭാംഗത്തിൽ നിർദ്ദേശിക്കപ്പെട്ട ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ നയങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടോ ഒരു സ്ഥിരവും ഉറപ്പുമായ യാതൊരു നയപരിപാടികളും കാണുന്നില്ല. ഉദാഹരണമായി ഭക്ഷണകുറവിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടോ ഇക്കാര്യം 14 ലക്ഷം ടൺ ഭക്ഷണസാധനങ്ങൾ കമ്മ്യൂണിറ്റിയിൽ പരസ്യം അതിനെ പരിഹരിക്കുവാൻ എടുത്തിട്ടുള്ള ചില പരിപാടികൾ അർത്ഥപരമാണ്. എന്നാൽ ഭക്ഷണ ക്ഷാമം ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടോ നടക്കുകയല്ല, കറകുലമായി തുടങ്ങിയിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു രോഗമാണ്. ഈ രോഗത്തിനെ പരിഹരിക്കുവാനെന്ന പേരിൽ ധാരാളം വെല്ലുവിളികൾ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട്. എന്നിട്ടും ഭക്ഷണക്ഷാമം പരിഹരിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടില്ല. ഇതിനെ കാരണമെന്താണെന്നും, ഇതിനെ ശാശ്വതമായ ഒരു പരിഹാരം കാണുവാനുള്ള വഴിയെന്താണെന്നും ഗവണ്മെന്റുകൾക്കു സഭാംഗത്തിൽ വിവരിച്ചു കാണുന്നില്ല. ഒരു കഠിനമായ രോഗത്തിനെ തക്ക ചികിത്സയൊ, ഒരു ശസ്ത്രക്രിയയൊ ചെയ്താൽ രോഗമെന്നു മുണ്ടാകുമ്പോഴൊക്കെ അതു ക്രമീകരിക്കുകയും അതിന്റെ ഉപകരണങ്ങളെ സംശോധന ചെയ്യുന്നതായാൽ ഉപദേശം ഉപദേശം തമ്മിലുള്ള ബന്ധത്തിനെ

“കോളനി ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെ സംബന്ധിച്ച കോളനികാക്കുട് വളരെ അതൃപ്തിയുണ്ടെന്നു എടുത്തുപറയാൻ ഈ സന്ദർഭത്തിൽ മൗൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നു. കോളനി ഏരിയയിൽ പ്രൈട്ട് കാട്ടുവെട്ടിക്കാരായ പെട്ടി, മുളുവക്കുറവൻ മുതലായവരുടെ കൃഷിഭൂമികൾ പിടിച്ചെടുത്തതിനാണ് കോളനികാക്കുട് കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഇതു വയനാട്ടിലെ ആദിമനിയോസി കോളേട്ട പെയ്യുന്ന ഏററവും പലിയ അന്തിരിയായാണ്.”

“ఈ నాడు దేశంలో ప్రజాసామన్యము ఎక్కో వాదలకు గురి అవుతుందంటే దానికి ఇప్పుడున్న కంట్రోల్సు విధానమే కారణము. ఇదివరలో ఉన్న కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వమువారు ప్రజలు ఎన్ని విధముల విస్తరించుకొన్నా ప్రజాభిప్రాయాన్ని మన్నించలేదు. దీని ఫలితంగానే మేమూ వారు ఎన్ని కలలో తెలుసుకొన్నారు. కంట్రోల్సు వద్దని ప్రజలు ఎంతో కాలంగా ఆందోళనచేస్తున్నారు. ఈ విషయంలో ప్రజాభిప్రాయాన్ని మన్నించని వెనుకటి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ప్రజలు ఎన్ని కలలో సమూలంగా ఓడించి వేసారు. మంతులలో చాలామంది పెద్దలను సూకే నేతలు ఎన్ని కలలో పరాజయించారు. ప్రజాభిప్రాయము ఏమో తెలుపుడు చేశారు. అయినప్పటికీ ఈ ప్రజాభిప్రాయాన్ని ఈ ప్రభుత్వం కూడా గుర్తించలేదు. కంట్రోల్సు వల్ల ప్రజలదైనదిని జీవితంలో చాలా చెడుగులు కనుపిస్తున్నాయి. బ్యాక్ మార్కెట్లు పెరిగిపోతోంది. ఆహార ధాన్యాల పంపకం సరిగా జరగటంలేదు. గాంధీమహర్షిడు కూడ కంట్రోల్సును తొలగించాలని చెప్పాడు. ‘Control is a crime’ అన్నాడు. ఈ కంట్రోల్సు తొలగించిన సేగాని ప్రజలు సుఖపడరని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. కంట్రోల్సు నిబంధనలు అడ్డురావడం వల్లనే ఈ నాడు క్షయమిడితమైన రాయలసీమలోని ప్రజలకు ఆహారధాన్యాలు సొరకడంలేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“కంట్లోన్నవల్ల ఉద్యోగులలో అంశగండితనం పెరిగిపోయింది. వరిపైరులేనే
రైతు ఉద్యోగుల దయాదాక్షిణ్యాలపై ఆధారపడి ఉండవలసి వస్తోంది. కలిగిన ఖా-
స్సాములు తమ ధాన్యాలను హెచ్చు ధరలకు అమ్ముకుంటున్నారు. ఉద్యోగస్తులు
అంచాలు తీసుకొని చూచి చూడనట్లు వారిని వదలివేస్తున్నారు. దీనివల్ల మూడువందల
రూపాయలు అమ్మువలసిన పుట్టి ధాన్యము ఈనాడు ఆయిదు వందల రూపాయలకు

[Sri B. Ramakrishna Reddi] [8th May 1952]

అమృతబదులతోంది. దీనికంటా ఉద్యోగుల లంచగొండితనమే కారణమని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విషయాలను పైకి తెలుపుకోటానికైనా మాకు సావకాశం ఇవ్వబడటం లేదు. ఉద్యోగుల లంచగొండితనం బయటపడితే హాకి కోపమువచ్చి లేనిపోని నేరాలు మోపి మూడు మాసాలు జైల్లోకు కూడా కుంపుతున్నారు. ఈ విధంగా ప్రజలను బాధించి ప్రజలను, ప్రజాప్రతినిధులను లొంగదీయ ప్రయత్నించడం ఎక్కువ జరుగుతుంది కాదు. ఈ కంట్రోల్స్ ఉన్నంతవరకు లంచగొండితనం, బ్లాకుమార్కెట్లు తగ్గదు. ప్రజాభిమానం పొందాలంటే కంట్రోల్స్ తొలగించవలెనని కోరుతున్నాను. ఈనాడు ఈ మంత్రులుగాని, ఇతరులుగాని ఎవ్వరూ రిజర్వ్ ఇచ్చే ఆరు, ఏడు అవున్సుల బియ్యంతోటి పొట్టి నింపుకోవడంలేదు. ఏదోవిధంగా హెచ్చు ధర ఇచ్చి బియ్యం కొనుక్కుంటున్నవారే, ఈనాడు ఏదా, బిక్కిరి బియ్యం సరియైన ధరకు లభించటం లేదంటే దానికి కారణం ఈ కంట్రోల్స్ విధానమే.

“ఇంతకన్నా కూడా ముఖ్యమైన సమస్య భూస్వామ్య సమస్య. భూమి సంస్కరణలు చేస్తామని ఇదివరకు కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వమువారు వాగ్దానముచేశారు. ప్రతి కుటుంబానికి అయిదు ఎకరాల భూమి ఉండేట్లు చేస్తామని ఎన్ని కలలో కాంగ్రెస్ వారు ప్రజలకు చెప్పారు. కాని ఈ వాగ్దానాలు ఆస్తి వృథా అయినట్లైతే, భూమి సంస్కరణలు అమలు చేయనిదే అధిక ఆహారోత్పత్తి చేయలేము. ఒక్క కుటుంబానికి అయిదు ఎకరముల భూమి ఉన్నట్లయితే, అకుటుంబములోని వారిందరూ శ్రమపడి దానిని చాగుగా సాగుచేస్తారు. అయిదు పుట్టు వంటే భూమి వది పుట్టు వండుతుంది. అలాగే అధిక ఆహారోత్పత్తి చేయడం సాధ్యపడుతుంది. ఈ భూ సంస్కరణల విషయంలో వెనుకటి ప్రభుత్వవారు ఎన్నో వాగ్దానాలు చేసారు. కాని వాటిని ఎంత మాత్రము పాటించలేకపోయినారు. దున్నే రైతుకు పొలంమీద అసక్తి ఉంటేనేగాని వంట హెచ్చు వండదు. ఈ విషయమై గవర్నరుగారి ప్రసంగంలో ఏమీ తెలుపలేదు.

“గత అయిదు సంవత్సరములనుంచి కాంగ్రెస్ వారు ఈ రాష్ట్రాన్ని పరిపాలించారు. ఈ పరిపాలనవల్ల కలిగిన ఫలితమే ఈనాటి ఊమయని మనవి చేస్తాను. నీటి వనరులను తాగుచేయించకపోవడంవల్లనూ, నదులలోని నీటిని ఉపయోగించే నిమిత్తం చా్రిజెట్లను నిర్మించకపోవడంవల్లనూ, ఈ నాడు ఊమం ఇంత ఘోరంగా ఉన్నది. ఇక ముందైనా ఈ ప్రభుత్వము ఏమేమి చేయదలచిందో గవర్నరుగారి ఉపన్యాసంలో ఎంత మాత్రము స్పాచించబడలేదు. వెనుకటి ప్రభుత్వమువారు అవలంబించిన విధానములనే ఈ ప్రభుత్వమువారుకూడా అనుసరించినట్లయితే ప్రజలుపడే బాధలు మనము వర్ణించలేము. ఊమ నివారణకు ప్రభుత్వమువారు హృదయపూర్వకముగా ప్రయత్నించిననే కాని ఫలితాలు కనపించవు.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member may continue his speech after lunch.

“I have arranged for a conference at 1-30 p.m. with the Leader of the House, the Leaders of the various parties and those hon. Members who have given notice of amendments to the Motion of Thanks on the Governor's Address. I shall be much obliged if they will meet me in my Chamber.

“The House will now rise for lunch and meet again at 2-30 p.m.”

The House then rose for lunch.

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

SRI B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI :—“అధ్యక్షా సరిశ్రమలను జాతీయం చేస్తామని కూడా వెనుకటి ప్రభుత్వం వారు ఎన్నో ఆశలు గొలిపారు. కార్మికులకు వారు చేయగలిగిందేమీ లేదు. పారిశ్రామికులు ఎక్కడలా భాలు సంపాదించుకొంటున్నారో గాని, కార్మికుల పరిస్థితులను గమనించటంలేదు. కార్మికులకు పారిశ్రామికులు,

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తాము సంపాదించుకొనిన లాభాలనుబట్టి బోనస్‌లు ఇచ్చేటట్లు విచ్చాటుచేయనిదే యజమానులమధ్య, కార్మికులమధ్య సంబంధబాంధవ్యములు సరిగా వుండవు. లాభములలో కార్మికులకుకూడా భాగస్వాములైనని చారిత్రామికులు గుర్తించేటట్లు చేయవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను.

“ఒక ప్రాహిలిక్ విధానం గురించి ఆలోచించినా ఆదేశంత సక్రమంగా నిర్వహించబడుచున్నదని చెప్పవీలైదు. ఈ ప్రాహిలిక్ పాలిసీ ఫెయిల్ అయినదని ప్రజలందరకు తెలుసు. ఈ విధానంవల్ల మన రాష్ట్రభజానాకు 20 కోట్ల రూపాయలు నష్టమే మిగిలించి కాని, ప్రజావాతావరణానికి ఎంతమాత్రము లాభముకలగలేదు. నానాటికి దొంగతనంగా త్రాగేవారిసంఖ్య ఆధికమైపోతుంది. పోలీసువారుకూడా దొంగతనంగా సారాయిలయ్యారుచేయడాన్ని అరికట్టలేకుండాఉన్నారు. దీనికి ప్రజాదరణ, సహాయము ఉన్నట్లు కనిపించదు. ప్రజాసహకారముపొందని ఈ పాలిసీని ఎంతకొందరగా తొలగించినట్లయితే అంతయంది. ఈ నాడు ప్రాహిలిక్ పాలిసీ ఒక ఫార్మ్ అని ప్రజలు అనుకొంటున్నారు.

“కరువు నివారణకని ప్రభుత్వమువారు ఈ జిల్లాలకు, జిల్లాలకు ఇంతంత అనిచెప్పి కేటాయిస్తున్నారు. ఒక్కొక్క జిల్లాకు ఏదో 10, 15 లక్షలు ఖర్చుచేసినంత మాత్రంచేత టైమనివారణ జరుగదు. చిత్తూరు, కడప, కర్నూలు, అనంతపురం, నెల్లూరు, గుంటూరు జిల్లాలు ఈనాడు మహా టైమనికి గురిఅవుతున్నాయి. అధమము 4, 5 కోట్ల రూపాయలు ఖర్చుచేసేనేకాని కొంతవరకైనా ఈ టైమ పరిస్థితులను నివారించ సాధ్యముకాదు. మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోని ఉదయగిరి, కనిగిరి, దర్శి, పాదలి తాలూకాలలో ఈనాడు ప్రజలు శమతున్న రాధలు చెప్ప సలవిగానంతఉన్నవి. త్రాగడానికి మంచినీరుకూడా లభించకుండా ప్రజలు కాధపడుచున్నారు. ఈప్రాంతాలలోని నేడవారిని ఈ కష్టకాలలో అదుకోవలసినవాధ్యత పభుత్వమువారిపై ఉన్నదని తెలుపుచున్నాను. ఉచిత గంజీతో కేంద్రాలు, మొదలైనవి స్థాపించి వెంటనే సహాయము చేయవలసినదని నేను కోరుచున్నాను.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“I now call upon the hon. Members to formally move the amendments standing in their names.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘Add the following at the end :—

“but regret to note (1) that Your Excellency has not been advised by your Ministers properly as regards the situation in the State in various respects and the means of bringing effective relief to such a situation, (2) that Your Excellency's Ministers did not advise you to take effective and immediate steps in connection with famine conditions in Rayalaseema districts and other famine areas and even the measures adopted later were inadequate to ease the situation and (3) that no effective measures were contemplated to prevent the ever recurring famine year after year in those areas known as the ‘famine zone’ ”.”

The amendment was duly seconded.

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MR. SPEAKER :—“ As regards Sri T. Viswanatham's amendment^a, I am of the opinion that it is not in order.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I request you not to make up your mind before I say something on this subject. Sir, when I met you in your room, you were good enough to inform me that you will not entertain my amendment as it is out of order. I submit it is not, Sir.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I think it is.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I, Sir, place the following points for your consideration. You were pleased to say that there is provision in the Rules of Procedure of the House for moving a No-Confidence Motion. I submit, Sir, that it is only one of the ways. There are several ways of expressing our lack of confidence in the Ministry and one of them is under Rule 48 which prescribes the procedure for moving a motion expressing want of confidence in the Ministry. Supposing, Sir, during the budget session we move a Cut Motion and the Government and ourselves decide to make it a matter of confidence, it becomes another method of expressing our lack of confidence in the Ministry.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ That is a Vote of Censure. The hon. Member must make a difference between a Vote of Censure and a No-Confidence Motion.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Sir, I will make that also very clear. Rule 48 is one method by which provision is made for moving a Vote of No-Confidence. It does not mean that there is no other method. Had it been so, it could have been clearly said in Rule 5 (2) that any member may give notice of amendments except those which express want of confidence in the Ministry. You, Sir, who drafted the Rules, were not pleased to say so. The House had not approved any such rule. By mere implication the right of the Opposition could not be taken away. The rights of the House as well as the rights of the Members must be protected and they could be protected only by interpreting the rule in this manner. No right can be excluded by mere implication; unless it is specifically excluded it cannot be taken away. Then, Sir, if you refer to Rule 5 (2), what does it say? It does not make any reference to Rule 48. It simply says that ‘any member may give notice of amendments to such a motion by way of adding additional words at the end of the address but not otherwise before such time as may be fixed by the Speaker.’ This is all that it says. It does not say that a No-Confidence Motion can be moved only under Rule 48 and that it is excluded under this Rule; nor do the provisions relating to the budget say so.

^a Sri T. Viswanatham :—“ Add the following at the end :—

“ But regret to inform Your Excellency that the Ministers appointed by you do not have the confidence of this House.”

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"Sir, as you just now said that a Vote of Censure is different from a Motion of No-Confidence, I would refer you to page 290 of May's Parliamentary Practice, dealing with Votes of Censure."

MR. SPEAKER:—"In England they have not got a special procedure as we have got here. That is the difference."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Sir, I cannot carry on this kind of a cross-conversation."

MR. SPEAKER:—"But, I must also correct the hon. Member!"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Most certainly, Sir, I am for correction. If you refer to May's Parliamentary Practice, page 290, Votes of Censure, the language used is this:

"By established convention the Government never fail to accede to a demand from the Leader of the Opposition to allot a day for discussion of a motion expressing lack of confidence in the Government, a vote of censure, as it is called."

A Vote of Censure is only the usual method of calling it. There is really no difference between a motion expressing lack of confidence and a Vote of Censure. Sir, if you are pleased to look into the language of my amendment, you will find that I am following exactly the practice of the British House of Commons with which you are so familiar. I will give only four instances, Sir, in which a motion of censure, a motion of want of confidence, was moved in the House of Commons and on which Governments were defeated. The first was in 1859—page 118 of Volume 154, Hansard. I am only quoting the language used by the Marquess of Hartington—

"But we beg humbly to submit to Her Majesty, that it is essential for securing satisfactory results to our deliberations, and for facilitating the discharge of Her Majesty's high functions that Her Majesty's Government should possess the confidence of this House and of the Country and we deem it our duty respectfully to represent to Her Majesty that such confidence is not reposed in the present Advisers of Her Majesty."

MR. SPEAKER:—"But this happened in 1859."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"May I also submit, Sir, that you are always giving your rulings dating back to 1859. (Laughter.) I will now come to 1892, 33 years towards this side. It was on the 8th August 1892 (Hansard—1892—Volume 7) that Mr. H. H. Asquith moved the motion on which the Government fell. The motion ran as follows:—

"That we feel it, however, to be our duty humbly to submit to Your Majesty that it is essential that Your Majesty's Government should possess the confidence of this House and of the Country, and respectfully to represent to Your Majesty that such confidence is not reposed in the present Advisers of Your Majesty."

2-45
p.m.

"Englishmen did not think in 1892 that the language of 1859 should not be used because it was old. Mr. Asquith adopted the same language. Now I should like to come to much more recent times. I refer to the Labour censure motion moved by Mr. Clynes on 17th January 1924. There also the language used is the same as the language used in 1859. It ran as follows:—'But it is our duty respectfully to submit to Your Majesty that Your Majesty's

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present advisers have not the confidence of this House'. A few years later in the year 1932, Mr. Lansbury moved a motion as follows : ' That this House can have no confidence in a Government which confesses its inability, etc.'

" Therefore, Sir, I have taken you through a long series of years between 1859 to 1932 and I submit that the language that I have used is not out of order. It is quite within our rules. Our rules provide a method for expressing want of confidence in the Government. It does not exclude other methods. I can move a cut-motion and defeat the Government. But that does not prevent me from moving an amendment to this resolution expressing want of confidence in the Government and thus defeat this Government. In fact it is a privilege of the Opposition to take such opportunities and in as many ways as possible to express want of confidence in the Government. I therefore submit my amendment for your consideration. Please do not rule it out of order."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have heard the hon. Member and that too with patience. I must tell the House that in England they have not got separate rules as we have here."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I referred you to page 290 of May's Parliamentary Practice. There is a special provision."

MR. SPEAKER :—" There when they take the vote, the Leader of the Opposition says they want to press for a division, and he says point-blank either it is a snap vote or a vote of confidence."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Excuse my interruption, Sir. I referred you to page 290 of the May's Parliamentary Practice."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Please go through the Standing Orders and point out to me how your motion could be allowed. We have what is called the Rules. They have got the Standing Orders. Let the hon. Member point from the Standing Orders."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Yes, Sir, I referred you to page 290, paragraph 4, regarding votes of censure."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member will find the Standing Orders in the last pages. Let him point out from there."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" May I then ask, Sir, whether it is your view that if it is not in the Standing Orders it is not to be admitted."

MR. SPEAKER :—" It is not that. When we have specific ways to do things, the hon. Member must adopt those specific ways to do them . . ."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Are other methods then excluded . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" What I say is that when a specific way is prescribed by which the motion could be brought forward, the hon.

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Member should follow that method. If he wants to bring in a no-confidence motion let him follow that rule. But he cannot bring that motion in this way, that is by moving an amendment to the motion on the Governor's Address"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I don't want to try the patience of the Speaker. But I want to make one submission."

MR. SPEAKER:—"In spite of the hot atmosphere in the Chamber, I am very cool." (Laughter.)

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am not trying your patience, Sir. What I say is this. When the rules were framed by you, if it was your intention to prescribe only one method by which a vote of no-confidence might be brought forward, you would have said so. But the rules do not actually say so. They give us perfect liberty to move any amendment which we like to this Resolution of thanks. It does not exclude a vote of no-confidence. Therefore we are at perfect liberty on this occasion to say that we treat this as a vote of no-confidence. The rules not only provide two methods but also another, namely, a straight vote of no-confidence and also the way in which it should be enforced. The rules do not say they exclude any other method."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Let the hon. Member follow the methods prescribed in the rules"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am submitting, Sir, that I have three, even four methods by which I could do it, and my right cannot be cut away in this manner."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Let the hon. Member follow the procedure"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"But, Sir, I cannot give away my right to move an amendment to the Resolution of thanks and also the right to move a cut-motion during the Budget discussions to express no-confidence in the Government. My right cannot be taken away simply because of Rule 48 or 49."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The wording of the amendment should not be in this way"

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"It is a straight method."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is an improper method"

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I submit, Sir, it is not improper."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have heard the hon. Member. I will give my ruling now. As I have been saying, in England they have not got Rules similar to Rules 48 or 49 for moving a no-confidence motion. There when the vote is taken, the Leader of the Opposition says point-blank, either it is a snap vote or a vote of no-confidence. If he says it is a snap vote no action need be taken. That is, the Ministers need not resign."

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“ According to our Rules the hon. Member cannot move an amendment similar to the one he has given notice of to the Resolution of thanks. If the hon. Member wants to move such a motion, as I have already said he must follow Rules 48 and 49. A similar motion was attempted to be moved, I think in the Travancore-Cochin State or somewhere recently. There the Speaker vetoed the motion. So I rule the amendment given notice of by Sri Viswanatham out of order.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ I think it won't be taken as a precedent.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Unless the Rules are changed, it will be a precedent.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ The Hon. Speaker was pleased to say that whatever happened to-day will not form a precedent.”

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—“ I hope the ruling applies only to the words used in the amendment.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I have given the ruling. I am not here to discuss the ruling. The other amendments may now be moved.”

DR. K. B. MENON :—“ Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but that this House regrets that in the said Address His Excellency the Governor should have failed to inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons as relates to the entire period of the session; and expresses its surprise and concern that His Excellency the Governor should have postponed a clear indication of the contemplated legislative policies of His Government regarding several matters of vital and immediate interest, such as food shortage, famine, land reform, prohibition and the like.” ’

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI K. RAJAGOPALA RAO :—“ Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note that the measures and proposals made in the Address are inadequate to deal with the present situation in the State.” ’

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret that in the said Address no indication was given of the measures to be immediately taken to solve

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on a long term basis, the problems of recurring famines and unemployment on a mass scale that stalk the State of Madras to-day."

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note with disappointment—

- (1) that no steps have been indicated to provide drainage schemes for any of the towns in Andhra districts;*
- (2) that no mention has been made of supplying electricity to dry areas in Andhra districts for agricultural purposes;*
- (3) that no steps have been suggested to start minor irrigation schemes to increase food production immediately;*
- (4) that no attempts have been envisaged to ameliorate the conditions of unemployed labourers caused by the closing down of industries in many districts;*
- (5) that no mention has been made of attempts to increase the salaries of non-gazetted officers to the level of those recommended in the Central Pay Commission's report;*
- (6) that no mention has been made regarding privileges of members."*

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI C. PULLA REDDI :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret that nothing has been said about the working of the present Prohibition Act, the miseries it has caused to thousands of toddy-tappers and the vast toiling masses of the State."

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that His Excellency the Governor was ill-advised in taking measures to implement the Malabar Tenancy (Amendment) Act despite unanimous opposition to the same on the part of tenants of all shades of opinion and from majority of elected members of the Assembly from Malabar, and in failing to take measures to relieve the peasants who were hard hit by the sudden and abrupt fall in prices of coconut, arecanut, pepper and other agricultural products of Malabar."

The amendment was duly seconded.

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SRI T. C. NARAYANAN NAMBIAR :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that His Excellency the Governor is ill-advised in observing complete silence on the burning educational problems of the State especially with regard to the pitiable pay and service conditions of the teachers; and that it is necessary to bring to the notice of His Excellency the Governor the imperative need to take immediate steps—

(a) to remove—

(1) the disparity in the scales of pay of the teachers of the same grade;

(2) the infringement of the right of teachers to organize;

(3) the ban on teachers becoming members of any legal political party; and

(4) the impediments in the way of spreading free and universal primary education as guaranteed by the Constitution by immediately evolving a progressive democratic and national educational policy ;

(b) to remove the cancellation or suspension of teaching certificates indiscriminately consequent on the alleged ' Communist troubles ' of 1948-50 and order reinstatement with compensation." "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI K. P. GOPALAN :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that despite the fact that there is a serious crisis in the handloom industry in the Madras State, as a result of which lakhs of workers are unemployed and thrown in the streets, the Government failed—

(1) to suggest and to take concrete steps to give immediate relief to unemployed handloom workers;

(2) to place orders with the handloom industry for supply of cloths for the Defence and other departments;

(3) to subsidize the handloom factory owners to clear away the accumulated stocks of cloth at cheaper rates and enable them to run the industry;

(4) to prohibit the import of foreign cloth into this country;

(5) to find markets for the handloom goods at home and abroad;

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- (6) to lower the price of the yarn;
 (7) to change the textile policy of the Government and the attitude towards the handloom industry; and
 (8) to take immediate steps to save the industry from complete collapse and to save the workers from starvation deaths and to stop unemployment." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note the failure to recognize the great urge among the people of Andhra, Kerala, Kanara and Tamilnad for the formation of linguistic States and to recommend to the Government of India suitable steps for the immediate formation of such linguistic States." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI B. SANKARAYYA :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to state that no mention is made in the said Address of the conditions of handloom weavers." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI S. RAMALINGAM :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that nothing is mentioned about the working of the Zamindari Abolition Act." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI G. YELLAMANDA REDDI :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that the problems of Zamin ryots have not been touched upon in the said Address." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that the problems of inamdari ryots have not been touched upon in the said Address." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

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SRI GUNTUR BAPANAYYA :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that the deplorable conditions under which the agricultural labourers are living and the solution of the problem has not been mentioned in the Address." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI G. RAMA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end—

" but regret that the issues regarding the miserable conditions of the non-gazetted officers of the State and their real and just demands for living wages and relief from their overburdened work, have not been dealt with." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note—

(1) that the Address contained reference to the passing away of King George VI and congratulatory message to Queen Elizabeth on her ascending the throne;

(2) that no reference was made in the Address to the formation of Andhra State; and

(3) that no reference was made in the Address to Nandikonda and Siddeswaram Projects." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

JANAB K. M. SEETHI :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to state that His Excellency the Governor has not been fully and correctly informed of the sufferings of the people owing to the failure of the Government to give them the necessaries of life, viz., food, cloth and houses, protection to industries, employment for labour and also their failure to redress the grievances of the minorities in the matter of the treatment accorded to them and their experience in the recent general elections." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

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SRI M. VEERABHADRAM :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that no mention is made in the Address about the irrigation developments in the upland (dry) areas in this State in general and in Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts in particular." ' ' "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address about the unemployment and living problems facing the working population of this State." ' ' "

The amendment was duly seconded.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I allow the hon. Member Sri Kalyanasundaram to move the amendment sitting in his seat as he is not keeping good health."

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name and thank the Speaker for the courtesy shown to me—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret that the Government have not taken immediate steps to remove the feelings of bitterness prevailing among the general public due to—

(a) the continued attack on the civil liberties in all parts of the State;

(b) the failure of the Government to withdraw the conspiracy cases and other cases pending against as many as 500 workers, peasants, students and members of the Communist Party of India for the past 2½ years and over;

(c) the failure of the Government to order the release of all political workers and trade union and kisan leaders convicted and undergoing sentences in different jails;

(d) the failure of the Government to institute enquiry into complaints of police atrocities, torture, rape, etc., on the workers and peasants and their families during the past five years and to take action against guilty officials;

(e) the failure of the Government to order the refund of the amounts of security, collected and forfeited from the presses belonging to political parties and trade unions;

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- (f) the failure of the Government to restore the properties seized from the organizations of workers and peasants;
- (g) the failure of the Government to order the refund of collective fines and restoration of properties confiscated from the people;
- (h) the failure to publish the report of the committee appointed by the Government to enquire into the firing on political prisoners inside Salem Jail on 11th February 1950."

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret—

- (1) that the Government has failed to grapple with the problems of the slump which has already led to a closing down of the handloom industry, the tannery industry and other industrial establishments leading to the unemployment of hundreds of thousands of workers and middle class employees and to a great shrinkage of trade and commerce;
- (2) that the Government has failed to address itself to the most urgent task of basic agrarian reforms providing for protection and safeguarding of the interests of tenants and landless agricultural labourers, which alone would enable the State to arrest the rapid decay in agriculture and take a major forward stride in agriculture and by providing the necessary internal market to enable the State to get over the slump and take a major forward stride in industry, trade and commerce;
- (3) that the Government continues the policy of the previous Government in assisting employers to impose greater burdens on the workers and in suppressing the trade unions by resort to large scale victimization and dismissals."

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI D. SEETHARAMIAH :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that in spite of all this, the Government have only just touched the fringe of the problem of famine relief in Rayalaseema and left lakhs of the famine-stricken people to face starvation deaths and miseries of untold nature and that they have failed to grant subsistence loans and execute famine works in a degree which will afford relief even to two per cent of the lakhs of famine-stricken people."

The amendment was duly seconded.

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SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“ Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note that in view of 90 per cent of Ceylon Indians being descendants of original inhabitants of Madras State, the Government have not taken proper steps to impress upon the Central Government the necessity for a speedy and honourable settlement of the Ceylon Indian problem.” ’ ’ ’

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI V. R. KRISHNA IYER :—“ Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note the utter absence of any indication regarding safeguarding of civil liberties, the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive in the rest of the State, the provision of free legal assistance to poor litigants, the dissemination of free education, the provision of free medical service as also Public Health service to the poor millions and the grant of increase in salaries to Non-Gazetted Officers in conformity with the Central Pay Commission's scales, and the imposition of wholesome taxes like death duties and taxes on plantations.” ’ ’ ’

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI N. SIVARAMI REDDI :—“ Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note that—

- (1) the relief measures so far adopted in the famine-stricken areas of this State are quite inadequate and far from satisfying the urgent requirements of these areas;
- (2) in the matter of granting remission of land revenue the attitude and policy of the Government has been to extract as much as possible from the peasants;
- (3) the amount allotted for subsistence loans is quite inadequate;
- (4) there is much delay in the disbursement of loans and corruption is rampant;
- (5) the recovery of loans due to the co-operative banks and private money-lenders has not been stopped; and
- (6) the gruel supplied at gruel centres is of a poor quality and has literally no food value.” ’ ’ ’

The amendment was duly seconded.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The Motion of thanks and the amendments are now before the House for discussion.”

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SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, the motion before the House for discussion is a resolution of thanks for the address delivered by His Excellency the Governor. Normally speaking under the Constitution even though it is the Governor that has made the speech, the fact is that the Governor is only a constitutional head and as such he has not made the speech on his own. In fact the speech that has been delivered to us by the Governor is the speech of the Government and the Council of Ministers. They indicate to us the policies they propose to initiate, how they understand the problems that are facing the country to-day and what it is that they propose to do in regard to these many problems. With this understanding therefore let us look at the speech and see how far the present Government and the Council of Ministers have understood the problems, the acute problems that are facing us to-day and let us see whether the measures that they propose are adequate to deal with these terrible problems. Before I go into this aspect of the question I would like to refer to the speeches that were made on behalf of the Government from the other side. Certain members of the Congress Party who delivered speeches on this motion did not refer to the matters that were actually contained in the address. It is very significant because they were not able to justify the Governor's address on the basis of what was done or what is proposed to be done in that address. They referred to something else, to the fact of the Congress having formed the Ministry and the wisdom of the Chief Minister whose services have been obtained by the Congress Party. It is to that that they could refer and not to any specific matter that is contained in the address which to-day is the policy of the Government and the policy that the Government are going to pursue.

" Now, coming to the Address of His Excellency, Sir, let us see what it actually contains. The Address starts in the first instance with an expression of regret over the death of King George VI. I do not know why a reference was made to this in the address and I am quite sure the people of this country do not at all care whether King George VI passed away or not. They are not bothered in the least about it." (Cheers.)

MR. SPEAKER :—" Hon. Members should not clap their hands. I have no objection if they thump the tables."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Sir, people in our State are dying of starvation. We have heard stories where mothers committed suicide after throwing their children into wells. These are facts and the Government are not so much concerned with their deaths as they are concerned with the passing away of King George VI. Why? Because we are supposed to be connected with that country. How? I do not know. Secondly, Sir, we also expressed our people's respectful greetings and good wishes to an amiable woman; it may be Queen Elizabeth. But, how are we concerned with what happens elsewhere? I do not understand it at all.

" Then, Sir, His Excellency has been pleased to talk of great traditions that this House must set up. I do not know what

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those traditions are that this House should set up. I do not know what understanding of the traditions that this House should set up, His Excellency or the Government have. We know, as a matter of fact, that certain traditions have already been set up by this Government. First of all, when the new Constitution has been inaugurated and for the first time a Government under the new Constitution is being constituted, we in this State see here a Chief Minister who is not an elected Member of the Legislature. I do not know if this is the kind of tradition that we have got to set up in this State and I do not know whether there is any country which claims to be democratic and boasts of a Chief Minister who is not an elected Member of the Legislature. I would like only to request the Hon. Chief Minister to realize what the implications of this are. I would like him to realize that this is a very bad tradition which has been set up in this State and posterity is not going to pardon us for having set up this tradition. I would once again, beg of the Chief Minister to realize in the name of posterity and in the name of democracy, that the highest democratic traditions that have been established all over the world, have been violated. Even now, he could consider the matter and set up a proper tradition. Therefore, I would request him to resign his membership of the Council and face an election and that will be a proper tradition." (Applause and clapping of hands.)

MR. SPEAKER :—" I think visitors sitting in the gallery also are clapping their hands. I am afraid I will have to clear them off the gallery. Let me warn the visitors sitting in the gallery that they should not clap their hands."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Apart from the question of democratic traditions that we have got to set up, I would also like to say that it is absolutely unconstitutional. The Constitution does not think of this method of getting into the Legislature at all. The Governor has acted in this manner because he had no proper Adviser or properly constituted Council of Ministers who could advise him with regard to the nomination of members to the Legislative Council. We know that under the Constitution the Governor has no power whatsoever to act in his individual discretion or judgment. And it is impossible also to think that a Care-taker Ministry which has already lost the confidence of the people should have anything to do with regard to the composition of the Legislature. In fact, if it is taken for granted that it was the Care-taker Ministry that should advise the Governor, then it would mean that the persons who were rejected by the people in the elections could decide upon the composition of the new Legislature. It is very wrong and there is no provision in the Constitution providing for such nomination of members to the Upper House. Therefore, I would beg of the Chief Minister even now to think of these things and give up his position and stand for election.

" Then, Sir, the Address states that, as this Government have come into office only 10 or 12 days back, it has not been possible

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for them to place before the House what measures they are going to take, to tackle the extraordinary conditions prevailing in this State. The Address says in another place—

‘The recent general slump has resulted in considerable distress to those engaged in the large handloom industry of this State. My Government are giving anxious thought to this subject and will announce the measures which they propose to take after consulting all the interests concerned.’

The other point mentioned in the Address is that there is an urgent piece of legislation to be put through during this meeting and we are told what that piece of legislation is, and nothing more. The address does not contain anything else. Sir, here is a party which has been claiming to know the problems facing the country and which alone claims to know the problems facing the country, which has been administering during the last five years not only this State, but the whole of India as well and which has placed an election manifesto before the people but it is not able to say what exactly it is going to do, and how it is going to implement the promises made in the election manifesto. Is it not possible to say in what way you are going to tackle the big problems facing the country? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“The hon. Member should not say ‘You’ when he refers to the Government.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“It is an impersonal ‘You’, Sir.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“The word ‘You’ refers to the Chair.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“I am sorry, Sir. I will get accustomed to the procedure.

“Sir, it is enough if the Government, instead of telling us what traditions we have got to set up, that there is a slump and so on, come forward and tell us what their understanding of the slumps. Let them not give the details of the measures that they propose to take, but let them say what exactly their understanding of the slump and its causes are, so that we may have an idea of their capacity to take the necessary measures to deal with it. Similarly, Sir, a reference was made to the question of famine relief. What is it they are actually going to do, we do not know. We are told that a great many steps are being taken. We are not told of the details. Certain gruel centres have been opened and military lorries have been requisitioned to supply drinking-water to the villages. How many lorries are there and whether those lorries can cope with the terrific problem of water-supply to the hundreds of thousands of people, the Address is absolutely silent about.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“The hon. Member has two more minutes.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“Sir, why is it that the Address is silent over these vitally important problems? The Address is silent for the simple reason that the Government are bankrupt of any policy. Therefore, Sir, there is nothing to commend in

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this Motion of Thanks and it deserves to be rejected *in toto*. There is also nothing to commend in this Address because it does not tackle a single problem facing the people of this State."

DR. K. B. MENON :—" Sir, I wish to point out that the Governor in his Address has violated, if not the letter of the Constitution but the spirit of the Constitution. He summoned the Assembly under Article 175 (1) of the Constitution. Under Article 175 (1), the Governor is given power to summon a joint session of both the Houses at any time or at any stage he likes, to express his opinion with regard to pending and impending legislation, whereas Article 176 (1) gives him the specific power and right to convene a joint session of both the Houses at the commencement of the session to disclose to the Legislature the mind of the Ministry. But, it prevents the Governor from disclosing the reasons for summoning the joint session, bit by bit, piece-meal and from time to time. He should indicate what the Ministry proposes to do during the session at the commencement of the session itself. Parallel to Articles 175 (1) and 176 (1), there are Articles 86 and 87 which apply to the Parliament. There is no precedent anywhere in India where the Governor or the President has failed to outline the policy of the Ministry at the commencement of the session. I know the Ministry will wriggle out of the situation by giving a limited definition to the word 'session' and will claim that the Governor has indicated an outline of the Ministry's legislative policy for this ten days' session. Sir, if the Governor had to indicate the policy of the Ministry only for these ten days, he could have summoned the joint session under Article 175 (1). But, as the Governor has summoned this session under Article 176 (1) of the Constitution, it is the duty of the Governor to disclose the mind of the Ministry and it is only by understanding the legislative mind of the Ministry that the Members can adapt themselves to the needs of the situation. This the Governor has failed to do and in so failing, I am quite sure, he has violated, as I said in the beginning, if not the letter of the Constitution, at least the spirit of the Constitution. The Governor of Madras has set up a new precedent and we have no example anywhere else.

" Then, Sir, the question arises why is it that the Governor has acted in such a way. The Governor's Address is perhaps prepared by the Chief Minister. Why is it that the Cabinet has acted in this way then? Was it merely an act of omission? Or was it an act of commission? If it was a matter of omission, we can understand it. But, Sir, my submission is that it was an act of commission. The Ministry did not formulate its policy for the whole session and so the Ministry did not discharge its duty to the Legislature. It was thinking in terms of party conveniences. If the Ministry has formulated its policy for the whole session, I am quite sure it would not have satisfied the different interests in the State and so it has not been possible for the Ministry to formulate its policy for the whole session. Even the Press Interviews of the Chief Minister substantiate my contention

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for they were only a series of affirmations and denials. He said that he was not in favour of abolition of Prohibition, but immediately in the next sentence he was reported to have said that he was prepared to investigate into it. He said that he was not going to levy fresh taxes, yet he could not say how the financial position could be stabilized. Sir, why the Governor's Address did not contain any reference to the general policy to be followed by the Ministry was because the Ministry could not consistently with its safety, reveal the information. I am quite sure that in doing this, the Constitution has been sacrificed for the interests of the party. The duty to the Legislature has been ignored in the interest of the party. Sir, the criticism that was made at the time of the Governor's Address that various methods were used to consolidate the position of the party in power, I am afraid, is not without truth, even though I am not prepared to accept the statement that fifteen Ministers were let loose on the country to canvass support for the Ministry. The method adopted has been more subtle. That is my humble submission, Sir.

“ Sir, how is this impression to be corrected? The Government have not made any attempt to correct that impression. His Excellency the Governor will be summoning the next session of the Assembly under Article 175 (1) of the Constitution when it will not be open for the hon. Members of this Assembly to criticize him. No amendments can be moved to his Address. Therefore, the Assembly will have absolutely no opportunity to express its opinion as to the general policies of the Government except perhaps as occasions arise for them. This opportunity has been deliberately denied to the Assembly. My submission is that it is the duty of the Hon. Chief Minister to give, as soon as possible, an outline of the policies that the Government propose to follow during their term of office. That will be one thing that we shall be looking forward to.

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p.m.

“ Sir, there are many problems that are of immediate and vital interest to the people. Some of them are worth mentioning here. One of them I have just mentioned, viz., Prohibition. There is a great volume of opinion in the country—perhaps a majority opinion which is shared even by Congressmen—that Prohibition must go. Prohibition has done no good to the people. On the other hand, it has done much harm to them. It is said that Prohibition has been introduced to improve the morals of the people. I have my own doubts. I should think that it is better for us to take care of our own morals before teaching others. I request even the Ministers to take care of their own morals before attempting to improve the morals of others. By the introduction of Prohibition, we have not in any way improved the morals of our people. I think, Prohibition has done more harm than good to the people of this country. Probably in every house, there is illicit distillation going on and this is ruining the health of the people. Considering all these, including the question of finance which is also very important, I feel that Prohibition must go. Even in the matter of finance, 17 crores of rupees

[Dr. K. B. Menon]

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have been lost to us. If we again auction liquor shops, probably it would fetch four or five times the money which it used to fetch before. Imagine the vast amount of ameliorative work we can do and the constructive programme that we can carry out with this additional money. All these things are denied to us because we have tried to put through a programme based on fads. The Government should deal with such matters from the business point of view and not be obsessed by fads.

“ Sir, the next thing that I wish to speak about is land reforms. That is another thing that is very urgent. Some opinions were expressed about it on the floor of the House and I believe that unless and until we effect some radical changes in the present land-tenure system, nothing can be achieved. The reactionary measure—the Malabar Tenancy Act—that was passed by the last Legislature will do immeasurable harm. Perhaps, I hope the present Government will not implement that Act. Let them keep it in abeyance till it is possible to introduce a much more radical and constructive reform which should be made applicable not only to Malabar but to the whole of the Madras State. There is no use blaming Communists or Socialists for advocating revolutionary changes in the land-tenure system. If the Government are going to maintain the *status quo* by safeguarding the interests of the landlords and the industrialists, we are not going to have peace in the country. Land reform means that conditions of tenancy should be immediately changed and eviction should cease. These are some of the changes that the Governor, in his speech, should have outlined. He has completely failed to do it and to that extent, I am afraid, the Governor's speech was a mockery and a farce. It did not fulfil what was expected of it, viz., to tell the Legislature what the mind of the Government is.”

* SRI A. GOVINDASAMY NAYAGAR :—“ மதிப்பிற்குரிய சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்களே மற்றும் இங்குள்ள தோழர்களே. ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ நீங்கள், சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே ” என்று சொல்லித்தான் பேச்சை ஆரம்பிக்கவேண்டும். பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்களே, சபையோர்களே என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டிருக்கக்கூடாது. ”

* SRI A. GOVINDASAMY NAYAGAR :—“ கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, நான் சரியான முறையிலே பேச்சைத் துவக்குவதற்கு வழிகாட்டிய தற்காக உங்களுக்கு என்னுடைய வணக்கத்தைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். ”

“ கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய சொற்பொழிவில் சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர் தலானது நல்ல முறையில் நடந்ததாகக் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதை நான் அறவே மறுக்கின்றேன். ஆவ்விதம் நான் சொல்லுவதற்குக் காரணம் என்னவென்றால், தேர்தலுக்குத் தொகுதிகள் பிரித்ததும் சரியில்லை. மற்றும், ஒரு கட்சிக்கு வேண்டிய சலுகைகள் அதிகம் இருந்திருப்பதையும் நான் சர்க்காருடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவர விரும்புகின்றேன். மந்திரிகளாக இருந்துகொண்டே தேர்தலுக்குச் சிலர் நின்ற காரணத்தால், அவர்கள் அதிகச் சலுகைகள் பெறுவதற்கு வசதியிட்டு நடந்து என்பதையும் நான் உங்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவரவிரும்புகின்றேன். ”

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“அடுத்தபடியாக, கவர்னர் அவர்கள் தங்களுடைய பிரசங்கத்தில் இன்றைய தினம் நாட்டில் இருக்கக்கூடிய பிரச்சனையைக் குறித்து அதிகமாகக் குறிப்பிடவில்லை. அவர்கள் வேறு மாகாணத்திலிருந்து வந்த காரணத்தால், இந்த மாகாணத்திலுள்ள கிராமங்களின் ரோடு வசதிகளைக் குறித்தோ, ஜனங்கள் படுகின்ற கஷ்டங்களைக் குறித்தோ ஒன்றும் சொல்லவில்லை. குறிப்பாக எங்களுடைய தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால், ஜனங்கள் குடிப்பதற்குக்கூட தண்ணீர் இல்லாமல் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். கிராமங்களுக்கு நீங்கள் போய்ப் பார்த்தால் ஜனங்கள் படும்கஷ்டம் நன்கு தெரியும். மந்திரிகள் ஜில்லாக்களில் பவனி வரும்பொழுது அவர்கள் கிராமங்களுக்குள் சென்று மக்களின் கஷ்டங்களைத் தெரிந்து கொள்ள முயல்வேண்டும். கிராமங்களுக்குச் செல்வதற்குப் போதிய ரோடு வசதிகள் இல்லாததால் அவர்கள் தங்கள் மேட்டார்காரில் இந்த கிராமங்களுக்குப் போக முடிவதில்லை. அவர்கள் குக்கிராமங்களுக்கு நேரில் வந்து பார்த்தால்தான் மக்கள் படுகின்ற கஷ்டத்தைத் தெரிந்துகொள்ளமுடியும். அவ்விதம் செய்தால்தான் கிராம ஜனங்களுக்கு ரோடு வசதிகள் செய்து கொடுக்க முடியும். நீர்ப்பாசன வசதிகளுக்கு வேண்டிய காரியங்களிலும், குடி தண்ணீருக்கான சௌகரியங்களிலும் அரசாங்கம் உடனடியாக கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டும்.

“உணவு விஷயமாகச் சொல்லும்போது, மழையில்லாதததான் பஞ்சத் திற்குக் காரணம் என்று கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கத்தில் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. மழை இல்லை என்பது மட்டும் உணவுப் பற்றாக்குறைக்குக் காரணம் இல்லை. உணவு தானியங்கள் மக்களுக்குக் கிடைக்கும்படிச் செய்யாமல் பதக்குவதுதான் இந்தப் பற்றாக்குறைக்கு முக்கியமான காரணமாகும். ரேஷன் கடைகளில் ஒரு படி அரிசி 11 அணு அல்லது 12 அணு என்று விற்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால், ஒரு படி அரிசிக்கு 2 ரூபாய் அல்லது 1½ ரூபாய் கொடுக்கப்படுமேயானால், மூட்டைக் கணக்காக வீட்டு வாசற்படிக்கே வந்து விழுகிறது. இதற்குப் பஞ்சம் என்று பெயரா? அல்லது பதுக்கல் என்று பெயர்? இது விஷயத்தில் இந்த அரசாங்கம் தக்க கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டுமென்று நான் ஞாபகமூட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக கள்ளக்கடை ஒழிப்பு சம்பந்தமாகக் கூறும்போது, கள்ளக்கடைகளை ஒழித்துக் கட்டிவிட்டதாகக் கூறப்படுகிறது. எந்த அளவு அவர்கள் கள்ளக் கடைகளை எடுப்பதில் வெற்றிபெற்றிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை உங்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவரவிரும்புகின்றேன். கள்ளக்குப்பதிலாக சாராயக் கடைகள் வீடு வீடாக ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்றால் எந்த அளவு சர்க்கார் கள்ளக் கடைகளை ஒழித்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பது தெரியும். முன்பு மூன்று, நான்கு மையில்களுக்கப்பால் போய் கள்ளக் கடையில் குடித்தார்கள். ஆனால், தற்சமயம் தாங்கள் வசிக்கும் வீட்டையே சாராயக் கடையாக ஆக்கிக் கொண்டார்கள். கிராமங்களுக்குப் போய்ப் பார்த்தால், கலசாயிகளும், தொழிலாளர்களும் எவ்வளவு தூரம் சாராயத்தை உபயோகப்படுத்துகிறார்கள் என்பது விளங்கும். சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவதை அவர்கள் குடிசைத்தொழிலாகவே கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சொல்லும் படியாயிருக்கிறது. இந்தச் சாராயத்தைக் குடித்து அவர்கள் வயிறு கோளாறுசெயிருக்கிறது. மக்களுக்கு வயிற்றில் பல கொடுமைகளை உண்டு பண்ணி பல வியாதிகளுக்கு அது காரணமாயிருக்கிறது. ஆகையால், மது விலக்கு விஷயத்தில் சர்க்கார் அதிக கவனம் எடுத்துக்கொண்டு, மக்கள் இவ்விதம் திருப்தித்தனமாக சாராயத்தைத் தயார் செய்வதைத் தடுக்க வேண்டும். அப்படிச் செய்யவில்லை யென்றால் அவர்கள் இந்தக் கள்ளக் கடை ஒழிப்புதிட்டத்தை கைவிட்டுவிட வேண்டும் என்பதுதான் என்னுடைய கோரிக்கை.

“அடுத்தபடியாக கிராமங்களில் இன்றையதினம் கட்டாயக் கல்வி விஷயத்தில் சர்க்கார் அதிக கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டும். முதியோர் கல்வி விஷயத்தில், இலவசப் பாடசாலைகள் நடப்பதாகவும், நாடகங்கள் வைத்தும், அதற்கு ஜில்லா கலெக்டர்கள் எல்லாம் கவனம் செலுத்தும்படியும் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். மேற்படி இரவு பாடசாலைகளில் 5, 6-வது படித்தவர்கள்தான் சினிமா புல்தகங்கள் படிக்கக்கூடியவர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே, முதியோர் கல்வியில் வீணசெலவு செய்வதைவிடுத்து கட்டாயக் கல்வி

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முறையை உடனடியாகக் கொண்டுவரவேண்டும். 5 வயது முதல் 14 வயது வரையிலுள்ள பிள்ளைகள் யாராயிருந்தாலும் சரி பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்குப் போகாமலிருந்தால், அவர்களைக் கொண்டுவந்து கட்டாயமாகக் கல்வி கற்றுக் கொடுக்க வேண்டும். அப்படி பிள்ளைகளைப் பள்ளிக்கு அனுப்பாத பெற்றோர்கள் மீது தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டும். அப்பொழுதுதான் நாட்டில் கட்டாயக் கல்வி முறையைச் சரியாக அமல் நடத்தியவர்களாக ஆகமுடியும். இது உடனடியாகக் கவனிக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சனை என்பதை அரசாங்கத் திற்கு ஞாபகமூட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன்.

“இன்றையதினம் தானியப் பதுக்கலைக் கண்டுபிடித்து தண்டனை விதிப்பதாகச் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. உணவுத் தானியத்தை ஒரு ஊரிலிருந்து மற்றொரு ஊருக்குக் கொண்டுவராமல் பார்த்துக்கொள்வதாகச் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. இது எவ்விதம் நடைபெறுகிறதென்று சொன்னால், கூலி செய்து பிழைக்கும் ஒருவன் தலையில் ஒன்று அல்லது இரண்டு படி அரிசியைத் தூக்கிக்கொண்டு சென்றால் அதிகாரிகள் அவனைப் பிடித்து தண்டனை விதிக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், ஆயிரக் கணக்கான மூட்டைகளைக் கள்ளத்தனமாக வீட்டிலேயே பதுக்கி வைத்துக்கொண்டு இருந்து, அதிக விலைக்கு விற்பவர்களின் மீது அரசாங்கம் எந்தவிதமான நடவடிக்கையும் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளாமலும் இருக்கும்படியான நிலை இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால், அதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகளை உடனடியாக எடுத்து, உணவுத் தானியம் சரியான முறையில் ஜனங்களுக்கு விநியோகிக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“நீர்ப்பாசன வசதி விஷயத்தில், ஆந்திரப் பிரதேசத்திலிருந்து தென்னாற்காடுக்குத் தண்ணீர் கொண்டுவர சிறுஷண பெண்ணூர் திட்டம் பூர்த்தி செய்வதற்கான காரியங்களில் அக்கரை எடுத்துக்கொண்டு, தமிழகர்களுக்குக் கிடைக்காதபடி செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று ஒரு அங்கத்தினர் குறிப்பிட்டார். தமிழ்நாடு ஆந்திரநாடு என்று பாகுபாடு செய்யாமல், கடலுக்குப் போய் விழும்தண்ணீரை, தேவையான இடங்களுக்கு நீர்ப்பாசனத்திற்குக் கிடைக்கும்படி ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும். நாட்டுப் பிரச்சினையைத் தான் முக்கியமாகக் கருதவேண்டும் தவிர, தமிழ்நாடு ஆந்திரநாடு என்ற உணர்ச்சி இருக்க வேண்டிய அவசியமில்லையென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன். ஸ்ரீ நாகி ரெட்டி அவர்களும் ஆந்திரநாட்டு உணர்ச்சியுடன் இந்த விஷயத்தைப் பற்றி குறிப்பிட்டிருந்தார்கள். அவர்களை நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன், ஆந்திர தேசப் பிரச்சனை முதலிய விஷயங்களில் நாட்டு உணர்ச்சி ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் இருக்கத்தான் வேண்டும். மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்களைப் பிரித்தே தீரவேண்டும். ஆனால் நீர்ப்பாசனம் முதலிய பொதுப் பிரச்சனைகளில் ஒருவருக்கொருவர் விட்டுக்கொடுத்தால்தான் மேட்டுநிலிருந்து மின்சாரம் அவர்களுக்குக் கிடைக்கவோ, அங்கிருந்து தென்னாற்காடு தண்ணீர் கிடைக்கவோ முடியும். ஆகவே, நாட்டுப் பிரிவினைப் பிரச்சனையை அடிப்படையாகக்கொண்டு காரியங்களை நடத்திக்கொள்ளவேண்டாம்.

“இன்றையதினம் சர்க்கார் உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களில் கீழ்த்தர சிப்பந்திகளுக்கும், தபாலப்பிலில் இருக்கின்ற குமாஸ்தாக்களுக்கும், தாலுகா ஆபீஸில் இருக்கின்ற குமாஸ்தாக்களுக்கும், சம்பளத்திலும் அவ்வளவிலும் வித்தியாசம் இருந்துவருகிறது. எல்லாவிதமான ஊழியர்களுக்கும் மத்திய சம்பளக் கமிஷன் சிபார்சுப்படி சம்பளமும் அலவன்சும் கொடுக்கப்பட வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். அதே சமயத்தில் ஹைஸ்கூல் ஆசிரியர்களின் நிலைமையையும் உயர்த்தவேண்டும்.

“நம் மாகாணம் கல்வி விஷயத்தில் இன்னும் சரியாக முன்னேறவில்லை. சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர்தலை அதற்கு ஒரு சான்றாகும். ஒரு பெட்டியில் ஒட்டைப்போடு என்று சொன்னால், ஒட்டுச் சீட்டை எங்கே போடுவதென்று கூட மக்கள் புரிந்து கொள்ளாத நிலையில் இருந்தார்கள். ஒட்டுச் சீட்டைப் பெட்டிக்குள் போடத் தெரியாமல், இரு பெட்டிகளுக்குள்ள இடைவெளியில் போட்டுவிட்டும், அல்லது ஒட்டுப் பெட்டிகளின் மீது வைத்து விட்டுப் போனவர்களும் அநேகம். மாட்டுப் பெட்டியில் போடுவதா, அல்லது கோழிப் பெட்டியில் போடுவதா என்று விளங்காமல் தவித்தவர்களும் உண்டு. தேர்தலை நடத்திய சர்க்கார் உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் இதைக்

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கவனித்துக்கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதிலிருந்து சர்க்கார் தேர்தல் விஷயத்தில் சரியானபடி பிரசாரம் செய்யவில்லையென்பதை உங்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவர விரும்புகின்றேன்.

“இன்றையதினம் உயர்தரப்பள்ளிகளுக்குத் தேவையான எல்.டி.க்களும், பி.டி.க்களும் கிடைக்கவில்லையென்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. இந்த நிலைமைக்குக் காரணம் என்ன? கல்வியில் டபிள் டிகிரி வாங்கியிருந்தும் அவர்களுக்குக் குறைந்த சம்பளம் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால், அவர்களுக்கு உத்தியோகத்தில் பொருப்பு அதிகம் இருக்கிறது. படிக்காதவர்கள் கூட மந்திரிகளாக இருந்திருக்கின்றார்கள். ஆனால், டபிள் டிகிரி பெற்ற உபாத்தியாயர்கள் ரூ. 80, ரூ. 90-க்கு லாட்டரி அடிக்கும்படியான நிலைமையில் வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். நாட்டின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கு உழைக்கக்கூடிய இவர்கள் கஷ்டத்தில் உழன்றுகொண்டிருந்தால், நாட்டு மக்கள் கல்வியில் எவ்விதம் முன்னேற்றமுடியும்? இது விஷயத்தில் சர்க்கார் அதிக கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“நாட்டில் மூன்றில் இரண்டு பங்கு ஜனத்தொகையுள்ள பிற்போக்கு சமூகத்தினர் நலனில் சர்க்கார் அதிக கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டும். ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஆலயங்களைத் திறந்துவிட்டதால் மட்டும் ஜாதி வித்தியாசம் ஒழிந்துவிட்டதென்று சொல்லுவது தவறாகும். சேரியும் அக்கிரகாரமும் இருக்கும்வரை சாதி வித்தியாசம் இருந்தேதீரும். ஆகையால், மற்ற எல்லா விதத்திலும் பிற்பட்ட சமூகத்தினரின் நலனில் அக்கரை காட்ட வேண்டுமென்று கோடுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஆலயங்களைத் திறந்துவிட்டால் மட்டும் போதாது. சோற்றுக்கு இல்லாமல் தவிப்பவனுக்கு சொக்கநாதர் நினைவு எங்கிருந்து வரும்? மழை பெய்யவில்லையென்றால் பஜகோவிந்தம் பாடினால் மழை வந்துவிடுமா? மழையை உண்டு பண்ண வழிகளைக் கண்டுபிடிக்கவேண்டும். பஜனை மடங்களில் பிரார்த்தனை செய்தால் மட்டும் மழை வந்துவிடாது. நம் நாட்டில் பஜனை மடங்கள் தான் நிறைய இருக்கின்றனவே! ஆகையால், பஞ்சத்தால் கஷ்டப்படும் மக்களுக்குத் தகுந்த சௌகரியங்களைச் செய்ய சர்க்கார் கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என்னுடைய பேச்சை இத்துடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.”

* SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my hon. Friend Dr. K. B. Menon. The issues raised there are so very vital to us in the context of the present situation obtaining in this country with special reference to our State that it becomes a dire necessity for every one of us to concentrate on the problems raised by him. The important items referred therein are food shortage, famine relief, Prohibition policy and land reforms. In order that he may not exclude any subject that may be of interest to the common man, my friend has been very careful to include the word ‘etc.’ That omnibus word would I think enable me to talk on certain points to which adequate attention has not been paid in the Governor's Address.

“As regards food shortage, I should like to say on behalf of the Tamil Nad Toilers' Party which I represent that the southern part of the Madras State (which may go even up to Ramanathapuram, and include Coimbatore on the west) has always been a deficit area. For a long time, we have neglected to do anything to increase our food production. We have always been importing a certain percentage of our requirements. I think in 1941-42, a few years after the second world war broke out, our food situation took a different turn. We began to tackle that problem by

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introducing the rationing system somewhere in the beginning of 1943. We are now in 1952. More than a decade has elapsed. Still we are not able to solve the food problem. We had been giving the people 6 oz. of rice. Just before the elections the ration was increased by an ounce. I do not know the motive behind the increase just before the election. Whatever it may be, whether it is 6 oz. or 7 oz. of rice, in my humble opinion it is quite inadequate. The majority of our people are living on the verge of starvation. What have we done for the people all these five years? No doubt we have a sufficient number of Ministers who draw huge salaries. Practically speaking we have neglected to solve the food problem. It shows that not only have we been inefficient but also careless. That is why we are having famine in Rayalaseema now. Famine is prevalent not only in Rayalaseema. As I have previously observed, the district from which I am coming, viz., South Arcot has always been a deficit one. Almost half of the district is under the grip of famine now. If any hon. Minister or hon. Member visits my district he can bear testimony to the facts. People in the taluks of Villupuram, Gingee, Tindivanam and even Thirukoilur are living practically on one meal a day. Added to the food shortage, we are having water scarcity. Ordinary human beings cannot be expected to live happily under such circumstances. What is the use of having a Government if in the net result people are made to suffer like this? I am sorry to note that no concrete measures of relief have been proposed in the Governor's Address to alleviate the sufferings of our people in the district of South Arcot.

“ The second point that I would like to mention is about Prohibition. I submit there are entirely two different opinions about the Prohibition policy as such. There are a set of people who believe that it should continue while there are others who do not want it at all. So far as I am concerned I would like to say that in theory Prohibition is quite welcome. In a country like ours it is of the utmost important that there should be Prohibition. But the way in which it has been administered by the Government during the last five years tends to evoke bitter comments. In the interim Budget that was presented by the Care-taker Ministry it was mentioned that the Prohibition guards would be provided with arms and ammunition? What is the use of having Prohibition when it is a known fact that illicit drinking is prevalent nearly everywhere and the Government have not denied it? Merely providing the prohibition guards with some more weapons will not serve the purpose. If Prohibition was removed it would fetch the Government a revenue of 17 crores of rupees and that amount can be spent on famine relief.

“ The hon. Member Dr. K. B. Menon has pleaded for certain land reforms. I am also for certain radical reforms in our land revenue system. I think the earlier we tackle this land revenue problem the better it will be for the people of South India. Agriculture has been our profession from time immemorial. Our

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peasants are unduly burdened with heavy taxation. In the address of His Excellency not a word has been mentioned whether we are going to have any additional taxation or relief from taxation. The peasantry which is already poor should not be burdened with additional taxation.

“One thing more and I have done. I should like to talk something about the backward classes in general. In this State nearly fifty per cent of the people are backward classes. There are ever so many groups and sects among them, numbering roughly about 145 sects. The educational facilities provided for them and the employment opportunities given to them are quite inadequate. As one who has had some intimate knowledge of their sufferings I should like to see that greater opportunities of employment are afforded to the backward classes.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“There are quite a large number of people who would like to take part in the debate. I have consulted the Hon. the Leader of the House. I think we may sit till 6 o'clock to-day.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“Sir, inasmuch as we are going to meet on the 12th instant also, I think the debate could be continued on that day. It is very hot here, Sir, and we are perspiring.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“I hope the hon. Member would not mind the inconvenience caused.”

SRI K. RAJAGOPALA RAO :—“అధ్యక్ష, ఎన్నికలు అయిపోయిన తరువాత ప్రభుత్వ విధానములు ఎట్లుండునని, రాష్ట్రములోని పరిస్థితులు ఎట్లా మార్పుచెందునని, ప్రజలు ఆశించియుంటి ఆనేక విషయాలలో తెలుసుకోవలసిన మాకందరకు గవర్నరుగారి ప్రసంగము ఆశాభంగము కలుగజేసినది. ఆనేక విషయాలలో ప్రభుత్వము యొక్క policies (విధానాలు) తెలుసుకోవలసిన అంశమండగా, ఏ ఒక విషయముగూరించి గూడ ప్రభుత్వము అనుసరింపజోపు విధానము వారి ప్రసంగములో తెలుపబడలేదు. ఆశించియుంటి విషయములేమియు లేకుండులేకాకుండా, పజాభిప్రాయానికి విరుద్ధమైనటువంటి ఆనేక విధానాలు (policies) గవర్నరుగారి ప్రసంగములో ఎత్తుకొనబడినవి. ముఖ్యంగా, బాద్మి చక్రవర్తి మరణమును గూరించి సానుభూతిని వెల్లడించడము, ఎలిజబత్ రాణి పట్టాభిషేకముగూరించి ఆమెకు అభినందనలు తెలియజేయడం, ఇదంతా భారత ప్రజల అభిప్రాయానికి పూర్తిగా విరుద్ధమైనటువంటిది. ఏ బ్రిటిష్ పరిపాలన అయిదు వందల సంవత్సరాలుగా కోటానుకోట్ల భారతప్రజలను బానిసలుగాచేసి భారతజాతి మూలుగులపీల్చి వేసినదో, అటువంటి సామ్రాజ్యవాదానికి అధిపతి అయిన బాద్మి రాజు మరణమునకు సానుభూతి తెల్పడము, ఎలిజబత్ రాణి పట్టాభిషేకమునకు అభినందనలు తెల్పడం, ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి పూర్తిగా విరుద్ధం. అందుచేత ఈ విషయములో గవర్నరుగారి అభిప్రాయంలో మేము ఏకీభవించలేక పోతున్నాము.

“అలాగే ఎన్నికలు చాలా సక్రమంగాను, న్యాయంగాను జరిగినవని గవర్నరు ప్రసంగములో చెప్పబడినది. ఇదిగూడా సత్యమారమైనటువంటి విషయము. ఎందుకనగా, ఎన్నికలకు నిలచినటువంటి ప్రతిపక్ష అభ్యర్థులకు అనేకమందికి అవకాశమివ్వకుండా చేసినారు. ఉదాహరణకు, ఈ సభలో ఉన్నటువంటి నాగి రెడ్డిగారూ, రామమూర్తి

[Sri K. Rajagopala Rao]

[8th May 1952]

గారూ, జైలులో ఉన్నప్పుడే ఎన్నికలు సాగించినవిషయము అందరికీ తెలిసినదే. ఇదే విధంగా, అనేకచోట్ల ఎన్నికలు వ్యాయవిరుద్ధంగా జరుపబడినాయి. కనుక గవర్నరు ఉపన్యాసములోని దీనికి సంబంధించిన భాగానికి అభ్యంతరము తెలియజేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇకపాతే, ప్రస్తుతము ప్రజల ప్రధాన వాంఛ అయినటువంటి భాషా ప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్ర విభజన విషయము ఈ ప్రసంగంలో క్రలిబింబించనే లేదు. మన రాష్ట్రంలో భాషా రాష్ట్ర విభజన ప్రధాన సమస్యయని అందరికీ తెలిసినటువంటిదే. అలాంటి ప్రధాన రాష్ట్ర సమస్యను నిర్లక్ష్యముచేయుట ప్రజల అభిప్రాయానికి పూర్తిగా విరుద్ధమైనది. 30 సంవత్సరములుగా, ఆంధ్రదేశములోని ప్రజలు ప్రత్యేక ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రాన్ని కోరుతున్నప్పటికీ, ఏదో ఒక సాకుపెప్పి ప్రభుత్వము ఈ సమస్యా పరిష్కారాన్ని దూరముచేయడం జరుగుచున్నది. ప్రజలయొక్క వాంఛను వన్నించి వారు ఆశించిన భాషాప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్రాల నిర్మాణానికి ఇప్పటివరకు పూనుకోలేదు. అంతేకాకుండా ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతములు అనేక విషయములలో నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడుచున్నవి. వైద్య సౌకర్యము, కలుగజేయడంలోను, విద్యా సౌకర్యములు కలుగజేయడంలోను, ఇరిగేషన్ వగైరాలనేక విషయములలోను, ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతములు నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడుచున్నవి. ఒక ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతమేకాదు, తదితర మైనారితీ భాషా ప్రాంతాలన్నీ గూడా నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడుచున్నవి. ఈవిధంగా నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడుటచేతనే ప్రజలు భాషాప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్రాలను విభజించాలని కోరుతున్నారు కనుక ఇంతటి ముఖ్యమైన సమస్యను గవర్నరు ప్రసంగము పూర్తిగా నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయడం సబబుగాలేదు. ఈ రాష్ట్ర సమస్యకూ, ప్రజలయొక్క నిత్యజీవితావసరాలకూ సన్నిహిత సంబంధమున్నది. ఇదేరక మైనటువంటి అన్యాయాలు, అక్రమాలు నేడు ప్రభుత్వములో అనేకము జరుగుచున్నవి. రాష్ట్రములోని ప్రాజెక్టులగిరించి ప్రభుత్వ విధానము గమనించినట్లైతే చాలా విచారకరంగా ఉంది. మన రాష్ట్రంలోని అహార సమస్యను పరిష్కరించాలంటే నందికొండ, సిద్ధేశ్వరం, పులిచింతల ప్రాజెక్టులను తక్షణం నిర్మించవలసి వుంటుంది. ఇవి తక్కువ ఖర్చుతో, ఎక్కువ ఫలసాయాన్ని త్వరలో ఇచ్చునటువంటి ప్రాజెక్టులు. ఇటువంటి అహార సమస్యా పరిష్కారానికి ప్రయోజనకరమైనటువంటి ప్రాజెక్టులు పూర్తిగా నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడుచున్నవి. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టులను క్రిష్ణా-తెన్నారు ప్రాజెక్టులన్నూ కుడితెట్టుతున్న ప్రభుత్వ విధానం చాలా అపరాయుధంగా యెన్నది. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టులగిరించి the Nandikonda Project is a most natural project and most natural reservoir అని ప్రఖ్యాతిగన్న ఇంజినీర్లు చెప్పియున్నారు. నందికొండ ప్రాజెక్టు ఈ రాష్ట్రంలో ఎక్కువ ప్రయోజనకరమైన ప్రాజెక్టు అని స్పష్టముగా రుజువుచేయబడినది. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టువల్ల స్త్రీలనదికి చెండు వైపుల 24 లక్షల ఎకరముల భూమి సాగువుంది. దానికి అయ్యే ఖర్చుచూస్తే 65 (అరవైఅయిదు) కోట్ల రూపాయలుమాత్రమే. ఇంత తక్కువ ఖర్చుతో 24 లక్షల ఎకరాలు సాగులోనికి తెచ్చునటువంటి ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడినది. కాని, క్రిష్ణా ప్రాజెక్టు విషయము చూచినట్లైతే, దీని నిర్మాణానికి 130 కోట్ల రూపాయలు ఖర్చు చేయవలసి యుంతుంది. మరియు దీని ఉపయోగము 15 సంవత్సరాలకు తరువాతనే పొందవచ్చును. ఈ 15 సంవత్సరాల పాటు ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు నిరుపయోగముగా యుండును. కనుక తక్కువ ఖర్చుతో ఎక్కువ ప్రయోజనమును సాధించుటకూ ఉచ్చునటువంటి నందికొండ, సిద్ధేశ్వరం, పులిచింతల ప్రాజెక్టులను నిర్లక్ష్యము చేస్తున్నారంటే, అది ప్రజల అవసరాలను, అహార సమస్యా పరిష్కారమునకును విరుద్ధమైనటువంటి policy (విధానము) అని చెప్పవలసి యుంతుంది. ఈ క్రిష్ణా-తెన్నారు ప్రాజెక్టు రాయలసీమకు ఎక్కువ ప్రయోజనకరమని కొందరు

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శ్రీరంగ నీతులు చెప్పవచ్చును. ఇది పూర్తిగా సత్యదూరమైనటువంటి విషయము క్రైస్తావ-వెన్నాయ పాక్షిక్తు రాయలసీమకు 15 సంవత్సరముల తరువాతనే ఉపయోగ పడగలదనుటయే గాకుండా, రాయలసీమలో 5 లక్షల ఎకరాలకు మూత్రమే నీరుసప్తై చేయగలుగును. ఈ పాక్షిక్తు రాయలసీమ పశ్చిమ క్రిమంతులను జేయసాగిని, కరువు కాటకాలను పూర్తిగా తొలగించుననిగాని చెప్పడము చాలా హాస్యాస్పదమై నటువంటిది. నిజంగా చూచినట్లైతే, నందికొండ పాక్షిక్తు వల్లనే రాయలసీమకు హెచ్చు ఉపయోగమున్నది. ఇలాగే సిద్ధేశ్వరం, పులిచింతల పాక్షిక్తులుగూడా తక్కువ ఖర్చుతో ఎక్కువ ప్రయోజనమును ఇచ్చునటువంటివి. సిద్ధేశ్వరం పాక్షిక్తు వల్ల 32 కోట్ల ఖర్చుతో 11 లక్షల ఎకరాలు భూమి 5 ఏండ్లలో సాగుకు వచ్చును. పులిచింతల పాక్షిక్తు 27 కోట్ల రూపాయల ఖర్చుతో, 13 లక్షల ఎకరాల భూమి 6, 7 సంవత్సరాలలో సాగుకువచ్చును. ఇటువంటి ముఖ్యమైన విషయాలలో ప్రభుత్వ పాలసీ విమూత్రమూ వివరింపబడలేదనే చెప్పవలసియుంటుంది.

“ధాన్య నేకరణ ధరలను గురించి మరొక ముఖ్యమైన విషయము చెప్పవలసి యున్నది. గవర్నరు ప్రసంగంలో ధాన్య నేకరణ ధరలు ఇప్పుడు కొంచెము పెంచి నట్లు చెప్పబడినది. ఈ హెచ్చుధరలు జనవరి 1 వ తేదీనుంచి ఇస్తామని చెప్పి యున్నారు. కాని దీనివల్ల రైతులకేమి గట్టుబాటుకాదని చెప్పవలసి యున్నది. ఎందుకనగా విదో కొద్దిమంది భూస్వాములు తప్ప చాలామంది రైతులు తమ పంటలను సవంబరు-డిపెంబరు మాసముల్లోనే అమ్మివేసి యుంటారు. బసంగి వంటి అయితే ఇంకా ముందుగానే చేతికి వస్తుంది. కనుక రైతులకు నిజంగా ధరలు గట్టుబాటు కావాలంటే ఈ హెచ్చు ధరలు సవంబరు మాసమునుండియో, లేక కొత్త పంటలు చేతికి రాగానే ఇవ్వవలసి యుంటుంది. ఇప్పుడు విర్పడుతున్న మరొక ప్రమాదమేమిటంటే, చేతిలో డబ్బులు కరువు అయిపోవడంవల్ల, క్రైస్తావ-వెన్నాయ రైతులు ఇదివరకే ధాన్యాన్ని అమ్మి వేశారు. ధాన్యముంత మిల్లులవద్దకు చేరింది. రాయలసీమలోవలనే అక్కడహడా ఈ కరువు వచ్చే ప్రమాదము ఉన్నది. కాబట్టి ఈ క్లిష్టితలలో ధాన్య నేకరణవల్ల, కరువు మరింత వ్యాపించకుండా రైతాంగానికి గట్టుబాటు అయ్యేటటువంటి ధరలు సకాలంలో ఇచ్చేటట్లు చూడవలసిందని కోరుతున్నాను.”

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think, it is not by a mere accident that His Excellency's Address begins with a condolence to the Royal family, but it is because the present Ministry is just continuing the disastrous policy of the British Imperialists who foisted upon our country a good lot of unemployment, strangled our industries and stood in the way of the prosperity of our country. Perhaps the Hon. Chief Minister thinks that it is not in the traditions of India to give unemployment relief. Let me tell you, Sir, that if to-day you find a large number of temples and a large number of lakes and tanks—some of them big—they are intended to tide over years of unemployment. I should think, therefore, that unemployment relief is really an Indian tradition, because you find a large number of choultries and a large number of temples. So, giving food is one of the duties of the State. It is not a question of charity, but it is a question of duty and responsibility of the State to the unemployed. The unemployed are unemployed not because they are bad, not because they are not educated, not because they are

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not skilled, but because they are under a peculiar system which actually manufactures day by day the unemployed in a large quantity. They are forced to be unemployed and to put up with unemployment, because there is an irresponsible set of people who rule the destinies of this State. And we are asked to believe that the whole thing is due to causes beyond our control. It is said that because rains have failed for a number of years there is a lot of unemployment. If anything goes wrong, it is attributed to God's will. But, if everything goes well, why it is to the Congressman's glory! That is how these Congressmen have been deceiving the people and not shouldering the responsibility which they ought to shoulder. The present Ministry want to tell us that they are something totally different from the old Ministry. Whereas, the mere fact that they simply shove the responsibility that they owe to the unemployed on to God and on to rain—or what they call 'Varunadeva'—clearly shows that they are only following in the foot-steps of the old Ministry.

Sir, as a matter of fact, it is very well known that both Rayalaseema and a good portion of Tamil Nad could be industrialized. There is a vast amount of mineral resources right in the bowels of the earth in these places and yet the Ministry are silent in this respect. It is also well known that the South Arcot district contains lignite deposits which can very well be used for industrial purposes. It is said that Rayalaseema contains iron, asbestos and a number of other raw materials necessary for industrialization, and that industries could easily be developed there. There are also reports to that effect. There is no dearth of blue-prints or blue-books on the question. The most important report on the question is the report of Mr. P. V. Subba Rao about the economic development of Rayalaseema. Sir, I would like every one of the hon. Members of this House and you, Sir, to read this book which contains a scathing indictment of the way in which industries have been neglected. Not merely the industries have been neglected, but the needs of the people also have been neglected. So, Sir, there is need for agricultural development; there is need for protection of industries and the furtherance of even cottage industries of which the Congressmen seem to be great protagonists. Even that duty has been neglected and that is because the Government consider that it is not their job. In fact, that is the reason why unemployment has been so great and it has brought about disastrous consequences to the morale of the people. People who are unemployed naturally think that they are so because of some sin and the employed man actually thinks he is born with a superior merit all his own. This kind of nonsense has not been taken out of the minds of our people. All this is due to unemployment. For example, in Nellore, we find a number of unemployed people from Tamil Nad eking out their livelihood in the streets of Nellore, so much so the streets of Nellore are full of beggars. It is a very strange phenomenon. Not merely that, they come and compete with the agricultural labourers even in villages. Not only there is an exodus of people from Tamil Nad to the north, but you also find a good number of common people

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of the Tamilnad migrating to Ceylon without permits. Going to Ceylon without permits involves penalty. This shows, Sir, the great amount of distress that is prevailing in Tamilnad, to which the previous Ministry as well as the present Ministry have turned a blind eye.

" So, Sir, instead of tackling this problem, instead of industrializing the country, our rich country, they simply talk about charity. I mean, Sir, there is a plan behind all these things. They say, if you want to live, you must salaam the Congress Government. They want votes. That is why they want to keep the people down as slaves and if they want food to eat, they must be slaves of the Congress Government. That is the way in which the Congress Ministry have been functioning in this State. They do not consider that the right of the people to live is their fundamental right, a much bigger right than anything else. Right to live is inherent in our Constitution and a man must first live to be free. In fact, the right of the individual to live and eat has not at all been considered by the Government. That I consider is a violation of the Constitution. In fact, these people seem to think that if we are to live at all we will have to hang on them, run about the Secretariat and stand before them and salaam them. Well, Sir, that is the way in which they are manufacturing slavery and creating a slave mentality among the people.

" Then, Sir, we find the shadow of 1947-52 is still lingering here as was evidenced the other day. I was so ashamed to see the Malabar Special Police guarding the Assembly Chamber and its precincts and even its outskirts. If you want honest people, they have to be certified by honest people. The common people are much greater than the whole Ministry put together and they have told the Government that we are honest men and it is these honest men that are being treated like this by the Malabar Special Police. I ask, Sir, is that the way in which we should be treated? False allegations are made against us and we are terrorized by the Malabar Special Police. Is that the way in which you want to wage a war against the people? They want bread; they want bread provided for them under the Constitution and it is that that you will have to give them.

" Then, Sir, in so far as the right of the unemployed for sustenance is concerned, that right has not been conceded. I therefore, consider, Sir, that this Government have completely fallen short of the needs of the times. That only shows that this Ministry has been most irresponsible and deserves, very richly deserves, to be pilloried and condemned."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to 4 p.m. make a submission to you regarding to-day's sittings. By previous engagement, we are having a very important meeting of our party and I would request you to adjourn the House at half past five."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Yes, the House will sit till half past five to-day, but to-morrow, it will commence its business at 10 o'clock. The agenda has already been circulated. It is put down there that

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the House will meet at eleven of the clock; it is a mistake as the agenda had been circulated before we came to the conclusion that the sitting of the House would commence at ten o'clock; I hope hon. Members will not be misled by it. We meet to-morrow at ten o'clock."

JANAB K. M. SEETHI:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, in tabling the amendment it was my intention to bring home to the Government the failure of the Government to apprise His Excellency of the acute sufferings of the people on account of the failure of the Government to satisfy their elementary requirements of life in the matter of food. In the matter of food there is acute suffering in the State and the 6 oz. ration that is supposed to be given to the people is hardly sufficient for keeping body and soul together and unless the Government provide ration up to 16 oz. they could not be said to have discharged their elementary duty by the people, namely, of providing the people with the food they require.

" In the matter of the procurement policy pursued by the Government, the Government have committed blunder after blunder and it has been responsible for a lot of suffering out of the people, because it had the effect of sending the foodstuffs out of the reach of the consumers. The other thing was that the producer was not given a fair price for his grains and that was responsible for his not producing as much as he could and also for his not giving to the consumer as much as he could really spare. This was responsible for foodstuffs going into the blackmarket and being cornered. My submission is that a fair price should be vouchsafed to the producer and that must be done without putting any more burden on the consumer. The policy now followed is far from satisfactory especially so far as my district of Malabar is concerned. There has been a unanimous demand from the people there that in the place of the procurement system which is in vogue, the levy system must be introduced. For that the answer of the Government has been that that system was tried in Coimbatore district and found to be a failure. I feel, Sir, that it is hardly an answer to the demand. In fact that is not the sort of levy system that has been demanded by the people. The Food Production Committee and also the Head of the district made a recommendation to the Government that the levy system should be tried as an experiment in that district, but unfortunately the Government have not been so kind as to give it a trial. I submit to the Government that it might be tried in that district and I am sure that it would result in more foodstuffs being made available to the people and in larger quantities of food being turned out for the consumption of the people. It will relieve the hardship of the people to a very large extent.

" While speaking about the problem of food production, I have to point out for the consideration of the Government that considerable disquiet has been caused in the minds of the people of the district on account of a certain report appearing in the papers. The Malampuzha scheme has been considered on all hands to be one of the most necessary irrigation schemes to step up production

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of food in the district of Malabar. It has been estimated that it will cost about Rs. 4 crores. During the beginning of the year, there was a slowing down of the scheme, but later on a press statement was issued to the effect that the scheme has been speeded up and the work has been going on as usual. This morning, a report appeared in the papers that there is to be a slowing down of the work on the scheme with the result that the scheme which is expected to be completed by 1953 would be dragged on to the year 1956. If the report is well founded, I wish to submit to the Government that it will create a very serious situation so far as food production in the district of Malabar is concerned. It will create disquiet in the minds of the people and it will be viewed as a piece of injustice done to the people of Malabar. The speedier the work is carried on and the earlier it is finished, the better it will be for the district, both from the point of view of the food producer and the consumer in the district.

“ Now, Sir, I wish to invite the attention of the Government to the very serious feeling of frustration in the minds of minorities of this State, especially the Muslim minority. The Muslim minority which was represented by the Muslim League Legislature Party had as many as 29 members in an Assembly of 215 but now, Sir, in a House of 375 members, we are a pitiable number of seven representing the various parties in this House. On the eve of the election, the great Prime Minister of India said that the minorities in this State including the Muslim minority should have adequate representation in the elections and some of the Congress organizations even passed resolutions to the effect that adequate representation should be given to minorities. But what was the experience? While we were 29 in a House of 215 we have secured only 7 seats in a House of 375 in the elections under the present Constitution. I should submit, Sir, this is a very serious situation. There is a feeling of frustration among the Muslims and the earlier the electoral law is changed for giving proper and adequate representation to the Muslims, the better it will be for the community and the State, for the contentment of the community and for the cordial relations that should exist between the minority and the majority communities.

“ Another point I wish to submit is that various concessions shown to the Muslim community in the matter of education and representation in the public services have been taken away by the Government. A monumental piece of injustice done to the Muslims by the Government is with reference to the Muhammadan College in Madras; it has done very useful service in the promotion of higher education in the Muslim community, which is admittedly backward in point of education. What has happened is that so far as the Intermediate classes are concerned, it has ceased to be a Muslim College; the Muslim students were getting 85 per cent of the admissions hitherto but now, Sir, they are only getting 7 or 8 per cent. The B.A. classes have not been brought under this category but still in the matter of admission to the Intermediate classes, Muslim students undergo a lot of difficulties

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and Muslims are thinking of opening their own colleges in the City for relieving the hardship caused to the Muslim students in the matter of admission to college classes.

“In the matter of public services also, they feel that sufficient consideration is not shown to them. One thing about which the Muslim minority has been considerably worried is that the Congress Party has been unfriendly to them, if not hostile. Whenever they wanted the right of organization which has been guaranteed to the people of the Union under the Constitution, it has been sought to be denied to them on one ground or another and their organization which has the honour of being represented by all sections of the community has been dubbed as a communal organization which deserves to be hanged. This is a very wrong attitude. The Muslim League organization has always stood for co-operation with the Government in the preservation of law and order; Muslims have not done any acts subversive of law; they have not indulged in lawless activities or helped lawlessness; no blame of the kind could be laid at their doors. With all that, many of them were unjustly arrested in different parts of the State during the Hyderabad trouble, but the Government were not able to lay a charge-sheet against anyone of them and they were all unconditionally released. I request the Government to change their policy and be just and generous towards all minorities including the Muslims; their right of organization should be conceded and their co-operation sought for the general well-being of the State.”

SRI N. C. RAMASWAMI KANDER :—“கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே! நமது மாகாணத்தில் கிராமங்கள்தான் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையிலிருக்கின்றன. அதிலும் பெரும்பாலும் கிராமாந்திரங்களிலுள்ள ஹரிஜனங்களும், வன்னிய குலக் கடித்திரியர்களும் தான் மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருக்கின்றார்கள். கிராமாந்திரங்களில் ஆள்பத் திரிகளே கிடையாது. பாடசாலைகள் கூட சில கிராமங்களில் கிடையாது. இது மாதிரியான பலபல குறைபாடுகள் காணப்படுகின்றன. இவைகளை இல்லாமல் நீக்கி கிராம மக்களுக்கு வைத்ய வசதி, கல்வி வசதி, விவசாய வசதி போன்ற எல்லா வசதிகளையும் செய்துகொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அதற்காக அரசாங்கம் மேன்மேலும் அக்கறையோடு எல்லாக் காரியங்களையும் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

“அடுத்தபடியாக நமது ரெவின்யூ மந்திரி கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயக்கரைப் பற்றி சில பத்திரிகைகளும், எதிர்க்கட்சி மெம்பர்களும் ரொம்பவும் கீழ்த்தரமாக அவதூறு பேசுவது மிகவும் தவறான காரியமாகும். வட ஆற்காடு ஜில்லாவிலே வன்னிய குலக் கடித்திரியர்கள் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். மந்திரி சபையிலே அவர்களுக்குத் தக்க ஸ்தானங்கள் சரியாகக் கொடுக்கப்படவில்லை யென்ற மனக் குறையினால் தான் காமன் வீல் கட்சியே ஸ்தாபிக்கப்பட்டது என்பதை எதிர்க் கட்சியாளர்கள் சரியாக உணரவேண்டும். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் எங்களுடைய குறையை நீக்கி, எங்கள் சமூகத்தினரின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கான நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுக்க முன் வரும்போது எங்கள் ஆதரவை அவருக்குக் கொடுக்கவேண்டியது எங்கள் சமூகத்தின் கடமையாகும். எங்கள் ஜில்லா மக்களின் கடமையுமாகும். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயக்கருக்கு மந்திரி பதவி கொடுத்தபோது அவர்கள் எங்கள் கட்சியின் விருப்பப்படியே, எங்கள் ஜில்லா வாசிகளின் எண்ணப்படியே தான்

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அவர் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக்கொண்டாரே தவிர கட்சிக்கு விரோதமாக அவர் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளவில்லை. அதனால் எதிர்க்கட்சி மெம்பர்கள் அவரை அனாவசியமாக கண்டபடி பேசக்கூடாதுயென நான் தனிப்பட்ட முறையிலும், கட்சி சார்பிலும், ஜில்லா வாசிகளின் சார்பாகவும் தர்மமையாகக் கேட்டுக் கொண்டு, இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரித்து என் சிறுநரையை முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

* SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my hon. Friend Sri K. P. Gopalan. I want to impress upon the Government the miserable plight of the handloom weavers and their industry in the country. No doubt, Sir, His Excellency has in his address made a reference to the handloom industry and also the need for giving immediate relief to the suffering handloom weavers. But I feel sorry, Sir, that His Excellency has not indicated the measures that will be adopted by the Government for providing relief to them. It is a fact known to all that the handloom weaving industry is the biggest national industry in the country providing employment for fifteen million people. In Madras State alone, there are seven lakhs of handlooms upon which thirty lakhs of people are depending for their livelihood. Both the Union and the State Governments, though pledged to support cottage industries, have not done anything to protect the handloom weaving industry from the competition of the textile mill industry. The sufferings of handloom weavers have grown into infinitude for want of employment with a living wage. Several thousands of families of handloom weavers have migrated to other places in search of livelihood, several thousands of handloom weavers have resorted to begging as their present profession, and hunger deaths among handloom weavers have become common. You know, Sir, that repeated representations were made to the Governments to give adequate relief to the handloom weavers in distress and adopt suitable measures to provide protection to the handloom industry from the competition of the textile mill industry. But they were in vain. As a last resort, thousands of handloom weavers in Madras led by the Madras Provincial Handloom Weavers Congress, Nidubrolu, offered *satyagraha* before the Madras Secretariat during the first part of last year and had to court imprisonment, not to speak of the cruel atrocities of the police against the peaceful and non-violent *satyagrahis*. The Union Industries Minister the Hon. Mr. Harekrushna Mehtab and the then Madras Industries Minister Mr. C. Perumalsami Reddi have made assuring pronouncements on several occasions that they have sympathy for the handloom weavers and that the needful would be done immediately for providing them with adequate relief. But nothing was done in that direction. The present condition of handloom weavers is very bad on account of the slump in the handloom cloth trade, and several thousands of handloom weavers are thrown out of employment. I therefore suggest certain measures to be adopted by the Government for affording adequate relief to the unemployed handloom weavers and securing adequate protection to the handloom industry. The present slump in handloom cloth trade is mainly due to the

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present high level of yarn prices. Generally the Government make a periodical revision of yarn prices once in three months and a revision ought to have been made by 1st April 1952. But I regret to mention here that, though the prices of cotton, both Indian and foreign, have been declining from the first week of March, the Government, instead of reducing the prices of yarn at least in proportion to the fall in the price of cotton, have been trying to maintain the high level of yarn prices. Secondly, one will not hesitate to protest against the recent decision of the Union Government reducing the prices of cloth, both coarse and medium, without effecting a corresponding reduction in the prices of yarn of the same varieties, that is, coarse and medium counts of yarn.

“ There is another disadvantage to the handloom industry. The composite mills spin yarn required by them and therefore they obtain their yarn requirements at the cost of production, whereas the weaving mills are able to secure their yarn requirements at ex-mill rates. But the handloom industry is required to purchase yarn at high prices, after the following additions are made to the cost of production: profit allowed to the spinning mill in fixing the ex-mill rate; bundling, transport and rewinding charges for the yarn and the profit allowed to the middlemen in the yarn trade. Steps therefore should be taken to see that the handloom industry is supplied with adequate quantities of yarn in required counts at reasonably reduced rates. For this purpose, the Planning Commission appointed by the Indian National Congress has suggested that an excise duty on the yarn consumed by the composite and the weaving mills, should be levied and that the proceeds of the excise duty should be utilized to subsidize the prices of yarn to be supplied to the handloom weaving industry. I suggest that that suggestion may be adopted and that the existing high level of yarn prices should be immediately brought down in proportion to the fall in the prices of cotton.

“ I now refer to the defective distribution of yarn. The present system of meeting first the yarn requirements of the textile mills in full and treating as a last charge the requirements of the handloom industry, should be revised and the total output of yarn in the country should be distributed strictly in proportion to the estimated requirements of the various consumers of yarn including the composite and the weaving mills.

“ I remember the Union Government and also the Madras Government promised to purchase handloom cloth for a major portion of their requirements of textile goods. But I see that they have not made any appreciable purchase of handloom products. I would suggest that the Union and the Madras Governments should purchase a major portion of their textile requirements from the handloom products. For this purpose they should revise the specifications of certain varieties of textile goods to enable the handloom weavers to produce them on handlooms and earn a living wage.

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“ With regard to yarn supply, I would like to suggest another thing. Handloom weavers are to-day facing difficulties because they are compelled to go for yarn only to the spinning mills.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member has one more minute.”

* SRI PRAGADA KOTIAH :—“ Therefore the spinning industry should be decentralized and the Government should take steps to install small-scale spinning units with five to ten spindles. Handloom weavers and the Primary Handloom Weavers Co-operative Societies may be encouraged to install small-scale spinning units with ten to twenty spindles each. I suggest to the Government to send an expert trade delegation to Japan and other countries to find out the possibilities of manufacturing small-scale spinning units with ten to twenty spindles.

“ It is a fact known to all that the handloom industry should be protected from the competition of the textile mills. Certain fields of production of cloth should be reserved exclusively for the handloom industry. The Handloom Committee appointed by the Government of Madras recommended that cloth of width ranging between 40 and 48 inches should be reserved exclusively for the handloom industry. That recommendation may be examined. In this connection I would like to mention that the Planning Commission appointed by the Indian National Congress said that the production of certain varieties of cloth should be reserved exclusively for the handloom industry, such reservation covering not less than two-thirds of the total production of handloom goods.”

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are supposed to be governed by a Constitution which is declared to be republican. The essence of republican Government, that is, the essence of democracy is not merely political in character but economic in substance. If we do not enjoy economic democracy, if we are not given the conditions of living which alone will make life worth living, there is really no meaning in professing or proclaiming—or praying if it comes to prayer—that we are having a democratic Government and that therefore everybody must make this Government a success. Let us for a moment examine whether the Government that is now ruling us is really democratic in its programme and in the *modus operandi* of administration. According to me, the opposite is far nearer the truth than the original thesis that the Government spokesmen may seek to establish. His Excellency's address is just a constitutional convention codified in our Constitution. As the executive head he would outline in his address the major policies which his Government through his Council of Ministers will implement in the long run. But in this case, a complete blank, a complete baldness and an absolute cypher has been given tongue to by His Excellency the Governor. The hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi was charitable enough to say that this was due to bankruptcy of policy. I am afraid that he has erred to this extent that it is due not to the bankruptcy or non-existence of a policy but to the existence of certain policies which

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are so reactionary that they cannot be disclosed at the first session of this Legislative Assembly under a democratic Constitution. That democracy can be thrown to the winds has been demonstrated not only to the Members of this House but also to the world at large, when this House on the first day of its meeting was greeted with an order under the nefarious Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code which has been the usual weapon of the Britisher when he ruled over us.

4-30 P.m. " It is time that we do not think hereafter of section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure as a matter of routine administration. It has a history and a tradition. We are told that we have got a chapter on Fundamental Rights in the Constitution. The essence of fundamental rights is civil liberty—liberty of assembly and liberty of association. Without liberty, there is no civilised existence. The very essence and progress of democratic life is the freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, etc., although in certain circumstances it is denied in this country. Freedom of association and movement has been denied not merely to the ordinary public or to persons who are interested in demonstrations, which may be of a lawless character. But, as we have been told, on more than one occasion it has been denied even to hon. Members of this august House. If the Government are adopting this policy to-day, does it not clearly show that there is a policy behind this administration, and there is no lack of policy or bankruptcy of policy or failure to think about the major policies? They have been asking for time. And they were given time. More time has been given and more time has been abused by them. To say that really no time has been allowed to the Government to think out the major policies is just an excuse. According to me there is a well-arranged, well-organised, well-thought-out, and well-conceived policy followed by this Government, and they will execute that policy well, though it may not be declared, very probably because, as opposed to the United Democratic Front or the Progressive Front, they may be a Reactionary Front and they will have their reactionary policies and they may put them into execution in smaller and smaller doses. In this democracy, with which we are concerned, we are denied civil liberties. We are given the Public Safety Act. It has been pointed out several times by our national leaders, eminent leaders and thinkers that detention without trial is the very negation of civilised existence. But, I ask, do we not still have detention without trial. Detention without trial has resulted in a party which has suffered most under it, capturing a very large number of seats in the Assembly. People are willing to be democratic in spite of assertions to the contrary by the powers-that-be. What we find, therefore, is not merely the promulgation of orders under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the application of the Public Safety Act, but a policy of complete denial of civil liberties. Perhaps some might enjoy an extra dose of civil liberties if they belong to the privileged class. But the common man has suffered. The poor man has to hold his tongue, and he is afraid to speak out. To-day there is a fear complex running throughout the whole country. We must eradicate this fear if we say that we have

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democracy in this State. I do not know if our prayers and requests to Government to restore civil liberties will fall on deaf ears or whether they will pay heed to our requests. In connection with civil liberties, I should like to mention one thing. There has been an assumption throughout this country, at any rate in this State, that there has been a separation of the judiciary from the executive. We are now told of novel theories of the separation of the legislature from the executive. We have heard of the separation of the judiciary from the executive. But new constitutional theories have been propounded now that there must be a separation of the legislature from the executive. That is to say, the legislators should keep quiet not only on the floor of the Assembly but even when they are outside. It may bear some sort of interpretation like that. My point before the House, Sir, is this, namely, so far as my district of Malabar and allied districts are concerned, the separation of the executive from the judiciary has not been accomplished. This has a bearing upon the civil liberties. Suppression of civil liberties can be carried out effectively only so long as there is no separation of the judiciary from the executive. The magistracy is sought to be used for the suppression of civil liberties, because the magistracy will be a convenient handle to suppress civil liberties. That really shows that the Ministry—the administration—has no faith in the independent magistrates who might be appointed on account of the separation. I, therefore, entreat this House to protest against this motion of thanks-giving so long as we are not assured of conditions in which civil liberties will not be taken away. I am afraid there is a feeling all over the State that this separation of the judiciary from the executive will be confined to the safer districts and not extended to the unsafe districts. I think that this is the view of the Government. I may here make one suggestion ancillary to the question of civil liberties. The poor man, when he is harassed or prosecuted, politically or economically, is unable to defend himself and get legal aid. Oftentimes he is unable to get sufficient legal aid for want of finance. It is but proper that the Government, if it is really a democratic Government, must enable everybody to assert his rights and give legal aid to any one who is not conversant with the law of evidence and other laws. In the democratic form of Government that we are presuming to have, the Government must necessarily provide for the defence of poor litigants in civil and criminal cases.

“ I now proceed to a very important issue namely, food. You will see that the grow more food scheme is a scandalous thing and a colossal failure. Why? Not because money has not been spent on it. Money has been rained as it were on the grow more food scheme. It failed completely because the Government did not choose to associate the people with it. They did not want to associate the people with it. They are prepared to run it in their own bureaucratic way. Their irresponsiveness to associate the people with the grow more food scheme was responsible for the failure of the grow more food scheme. The Press has been violently clamouring

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for the introduction of levy system in Malabar. If the people say that there should be no intensive procurement but only a levy system in Malabar, immediately the reactionary and bureaucratic Government says, 'No levy system; we will proceed with our policy of intensive procurement, because we think that that is correct'. This bureaucratic attitude is the reason why all the measures although seemingly popular and good to the country, have utterly failed. Is it really a popular measure that food must be taxed? Fish is taxed and fishermen are taxed. We are told that fish is food in most parts of the country. Yet it is taxed. We are told that rice is taxed. Why is food taxed? Is this democracy? But political pensions are being paid to Raja's' families, because those Rajas once bartered away our rights to the East India Company! These pensions are retained and are paid to the present drawers of those pensions. Take the case of permits? If a big man gives a dinner party to Ministers and other big persons, he is given permits. If permits are refused at the district headquarters, he gets permits from the Government in Madras. The poor man becomes disillusioned."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I would like the hon. Member to bring specific instances, if any, to my notice, and not make general remarks."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR:—"In due course and at the proper place and time, specific instances will be brought forward. I hope, now that the Hon. Minister says that he will look into those specific instances, there will be responsiveness to public opinion. Within the limited time, I cannot catalogue the various instances to substantiate my general condemnation of the policy of this Government."

"Then, Sir, I come to the question of efficiency of administration. I suppose efficiency of administration means rooting out corruption and carrying on administration properly."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member has one more minute."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR:—"Efficiency of administration will be an idle promise unless there is the necessary contentment among the subordinate staff, especially the lower paid people in the services. Why not in this State also we implement the Central Pay Commission's recommendations? Unless the administrative staff are contented, there is no point in saying that they should be free from corruption. They will of course be corrupt if they are kept poor. When big and fat salaries are paid to higher officers, why not at least a part of those big salaries be enjoyed by the subordinate staff of the Government? The Central Pay Commission's recommendations should be implemented at once."

"Before I conclude, I should like to mention one point, namely, taxation. I really desire this Government to conduct itself as a democratic Government by taxing not food, not fish, but imposing death duties, for instance. When rich men depart from this world let them be generous and allow a slice to be taken from their estate

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for the benefit of the poor people. Death duty should be imposed. Rich plantations owned by Europeans and wealthy people can be taxed. They do not pay agricultural tax. They do not pay income-tax either. These people can be taxed at least for alleviating the suffering of the poor people working in these large estates. The condition of the labourers in these estates is deplorable. Their conditions can be described as sub-human."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member's time is up."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—" Since time does not permit me to speak more, I close my speech."

* SRI V. DURGAPRASAD VEERABHADRA DEO BAHADUR :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the motion of my hon. Friend, Sri T. N. Venkatasubba Reddi, to thank His Excellency the Governor for addressing this House on the 6th instant. I have got one or two suggestions to make in regard to the food problem which has been already described by His Excellency to be rather a difficult one. The food problem in this country as a whole and in this State particularly is very difficult due to the fact that all our irrigation sources are not yet tapped. If all the irrigation sources are tapped—there are big and small irrigation sources—and properly harnessed, in course of time the food problem can easily be solved, and I think we will then be in a position even to export food to our sister States. I come from the district of Sriakulam, where the resources are something tremendous. There are several small hill streams which can be harnessed at a little cost, and those sources will bring thousands of acres under wet cultivation and provide livelihood to many people. Besides, there is the Vamsadhara project in my district which would irrigate about 2 lakhs acres. If this project is put through it will not only make Sriakulam self-sufficient in food but enable it to cater to two or three districts more. I wish that these projects are taken up as soon as possible. We are very fortunate in having Sri C. Rajagopalachari as our Chief Minister, and he has kindly acceded to our unanimous request by taking up the leadership. I can assure hon. Members that under his able guidance, the Government will be able to solve this food problem and the famine problem that are facing us. These famine and food problems are to be fought out on a war priority basis. What I mean by war priority is that a united joint effort should be made by all parties and all members of this House, and the entire population should co-operate. That will, I am sure, solve these problems. At this juncture, when important problems have to be solved, our political differences should not keep us apart. Otherwise, it will result in grave consequences much to the detriment of the common cause of the State. Therefore, I once more appeal to my hon. Friends to put in a united effort to solve these problems.

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" I would like to refer to one other point. One of the hon. Members made a reference to the nomination of our Chief Minister. I am a layman and not a lawyer. But as far as I can see, I think, the Constitution permits a nominated person to take up the post of Chief Minister. My view is this. We have all brought him

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unanimously. We have requested him to take the post of Chief Minister and he has accepted it. There is nothing wrong in it. We are the representatives of the people and we have been duly elected by the people and it is on our unanimous request he has accepted our offer. So, there is nothing wrong in his having taken up the post of Chief Minister of this State."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Hon. Member Sri Kalyanasundaram will now speak."

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:—"I will speak tomorrow, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"All right. The hon. Member Sri Narayana Kurup may now speak."

* SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must confess to my great disappointment at the speech of His Excellency. My disappointment is all the greater, because the Ministry responsible for the speech is one that was ushered in, in such a colourful manner as the saviour of this State. The Government which used to find fault with the people for their failures, are now finding fault with Nature. It is stated that Nature has not been kind to us for the last six years. The Rain God has not been pleased to shower his blessings on us for the last so many years. I would like to ask, 'Why?' Generally natural calamities or Ethibadha, as we call them, 'visit a country when the rulers are wicked or sinful.' Let the Government ponder over the situation and ask themselves whether they have not committed sins or whether they have not been wicked during the last six years or so. We find from the Puranas that during the time of King Janaka, when the country was subjected to severe drought, he sent for Rishya Sringa to perform a Yaga. We do not know whether the Government could get a Rishya Sringa to perform a similar Yaga in our State, and bring rain by pleasing the Rain God. Or, we may have to find out a Baghiratha or an Engineer of the skill of Baghiratha who could bring down the holy Ganges from Heaven to Earth. I only wish to point out that the Government ought to have taken steps to give relief to the people. The Government have, however, failed in their duty to the people. A major portion of the State is now in the grip of a severe famine. The so-called popular Government were not even as vigilant as the foreign Government. The relief or ameliorative measures suggested in the speech of His Excellency are totally inadequate. It is only a drop in the ocean. The Government ought to take up development schemes so that those who are unemployed and suffering on account of this famine could be employed for the benefit of themselves and that of the country. The people are not able to get even drinking water. While we, in cities, are able to provide for ourselves chlorinated water for flush-out latrines and spray baths, is it not pitiable that we are not able to provide drinking water to the villagers? This system of exploitation of the villages by the cities and the under-dog by the rich should go. The sooner it goes, the better it will be

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for everybody concerned. If this is to be our fate after five years of rule by those who are pledged to bring Rama Rajya or Grama Rajya, woe unto us. Except for a passing reference to the unemployment problem caused by the famine and a lukewarm reference to the handloom industry, the acute problem of unemployment has not at all been touched. There are hundreds and thousands of families who are entirely starving. The handloom industry which forms a major industry as far as Malabar is concerned, is completely dislocated and many are thrown out of work. It is like Nero fiddling while Rome was burning. As regards the food question, the prospects are not bright. The year 1951, that happy year of plenty and self-sufficiency promised to us, has gone. The Grow More Food campaign has been characterised by the highest authority in India as a costly failure. Why did it fail? Because, the Government had not a fixed policy, programme or priority. In this connection, I may mention a point which has already been mentioned by an hon. Member. The Malampuzha Project, which is a very important one in the history of Malabar, was promised to be completed by 1953. The work on the Project was suspended for a time for want of funds, but was resumed with an assurance that it will be completed by 1953. As is seen from the speeches of the Hon. Ministers, it seems we have to wait till 1956 for its completion.

"The procurement policy of the Government has been greatly responsible for the failure of the Grow More Food campaign. The cultivator has no incentive to produce more foodgrains. It is the village karnam who is empowered to fix the quantity to be procured with regard to each crop. We can very well imagine what this means. Because of this, there has been a unanimous cry in Malabar, irrespective of party affiliations, that the system of levy should be introduced immediately.

"Mention has been made about the increase in the price of paddy. Under the existing land tenure in this State and more especially in Malabar, this increase in the procurement price of paddy does not generally go to the cultivator. This increase only reaches the absentee landlord or the intermediary who has nothing to do with cultivation. We have experience of such increases in prices in Malabar. Bonuses and some increase in prices were granted in favour of the tenants. What was the result? Some time later, courts were flooded with suits against the tenants for the return of these amounts with interest and in many cases decrees were also passed against these poor tenants, for the return of the amounts with interest and cost. As a result of this many tenants were ruined. So, these increases in price will not at all help the poor tenants. They will continue to starve and the landlords only will reap the benefits. The tenants have to satisfy the landlords by paying higher rents. Such is the predicament of the tenants. Something should be done to help these poor people. However, the poor consumer should not be made to pay any increase in prices. He is not concerned with the fluctuations in prices of motor cars, aeroplanes, fancy goods or luxury articles. He is concerned with articles of prime necessity such as food and clothing which

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should be made available at reasonable prices. The burden of the tenants has in no way been reduced by the various measures adopted by the Government in the past.

“ With regard to the legislative activities, there is no reference in the speech of His Excellency to anything except the replacing of an Ordinance by an enactment of this House. No hon. Member of this House or for the matter of that, no Member of the Cabinet who has closely watched the developments in Malabar, especially after the introduction of the Malabar Tenancy Amendment Act can be complacent on the issue, because, the situation has become grave and the measure has been resisted by one and all, in Malabar. However, I do not wish to dilate on that point. We wish to take up the matter with the Hon. Chief Minister at some convenient time.

“ I cannot conclude my short remarks on the speech of His Excellency without expressing my opinion on certain points mentioned by some hon. Members. Some learned Members on the other side made a reference to the part played by them in the attainment of Independene. Let me inform those hon. Members that the freedom struggle was not the monopoly of any single party. I leave it at that. Are we now enjoying the fruits of freedom? That is the only question that we should consider. A good and able Government can only be judged by the results produced by them. ‘Phalanumeya Praramba’ is the test of efficient administration. The Government have done certain things. But, what are the results? We do not find anything substantial or tangible. That is our experience. The Government so far has been like a tree that puts forth flowers which attract people, but does not give the people any fruit. How long can such a Government continue in office? That is the question before us. We have been asked to pray so that Nature may be pleased to bless us with rain.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member has only one more minute.”

* SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP :—“ I will finish my speech now, Sir. If our prayers can reach God, it will be not for rain but for the removal of that impediment that lies between the blessings of God and the people. This Government can neither please God nor man unless and until they purify themselves. The speech of His Excellency does not contain any such promise to the people and, therefore, I oppose the Motion.”

5 p.m. SRI S. VEMIAH :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, in connection with the Motion before the House, I must submit that the question of cultivable waste lands—I mean poramboke lands at the disposal of the Government—is yet to be solved. It is a well-known fact that thousands of acres are lying waste. No doubt the Government are taking some steps to bring such lands under cultivation but more adequate steps should be taken to bring the entire area under cultivation. The Government were pleased to lift the ban on assignment of lands in the year 1949 but no patta has so far been

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issued even to persons who have been in occupation of the land for ten years and more. Particularly in the Nellore district, though it is now three years since the order was issued, not even three assignments have been made so far. No pattas have been granted under G.O. No. 1523. Steps should be taken to make assignment of lands to landless labourers.

"There is another request I would make to the Government. The Government passed orders that no landlord should have more than 5 acres of poramboke land. But there are many who are in possession of more poramboke lands. The Government have not taken steps to evict any of these landlords who continue to encroach on poramboke lands. Such landlords should be evicted and the landless labourers should be given a chance to cultivate these lands. The Government were pleased to reserve a certain proportion of these lands for the depressed classes. But it is regrettable that the national Government have not done anything to assign these lands to these people. The Government must do this if they want real economic emancipation of the untouchables.

"Sir, there is a vast extent of land lying at the disposal of temples. These are cultivable lands lying waste and are used by the landlords for grazing purposes. These lands should be given away to the cultivators. The Government, of course, auction out these lands but there are always the middlemen who benefit and not the tillers of the soil. These tillers of the soil cannot bid at the auctions in view of their economic condition and the rich and the middle-class people take advantage of this position and enjoy the temple lands themselves. Though the Government are not put to any loss, the actual cultivator who is landless is deprived of a chance to benefit from such auctions.

"Article 45 of the Constitution of India provides for free and compulsory education being imparted to children by the State. But not even in one village was I able to see this compulsory education introduced. As far as my knowledge goes, in Nellore there is no school to give such education. The Government in addition to giving aid to private institutions should, for the benefit of the people living in villages, start schools there irrespective of whether the population is 500 or more or less. They must see to it that every village has at least one school to provide free education to the children. They must have at least one teacher for each school if they cannot have more and try to spread education.

"Then, Sir, there are people in the villages who are not able to work due to physical incapacity. There are lame persons—with one leg or with one hand—and some of them have studied up to third form or the sixth form. They should be given a chance to get trained for the teaching profession. Free training should be given to them in order to enable them to earn their livelihood.

"Sir, with these words, I resume my seat."

* SRI M. CHADAYAN : — "മിശിഹാദിനാൾ കൽ ഉറപ്പു വരുത്തേണ്ട അത്യാവശ്യമാണ്. മിശിഹാദിനാൾ ഇന്നത്തെ അടിമത്തരായത്വം, ദാരിദ്ര്യം, വഞ്ചന, പാപ്പിടത്തരകളും ഇവകളാണ്. ആയതിൽ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധ കാക്കുകയേണ്ടി വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെന്ന് അറിയിക്കുന്നു.

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யானதும் அல்ல, தாங்கள் நினைப்பது தான் சட்டம்; தாங்கள் பேசுவது தான் ஜனநாயகம் என்று சொல்லுவது முற்றிலும் சம்பிரதாயமான ஜனநாயக லக்ஷியத்திற்கே விரோதமானது, முறையானது ஆகும். இந்த முறையிலே பார்க்கும் போது இன்றையதினம் இந்தச்சபையிலே பேசிய ஒரு சில மெம்பர்கள் தாங்கள் சொல்வது தான் ஜனநாயகம், தாங்கள் செய்வது தான் சரியானது, மற்றவர்கள் எல்லோருமே ஜனநாயகப் பண்பாட்டிற்கு முறையை, விரோதமாக நடக்கிறார்கள் என்பதாக பலவாறு ஜனநாயகம் என்பதை தங்களது ஏகபோக உரிமைபோல அர்த்ததமற்றதான பிரசங்கத்தை வாசாமகோசாரமாக நிகழ்த்தினார்கள். அவர்கள் போக்குப் படியே சென்றால், அவர்கள் சொல்லியவாறெல்லாம் நடந்தால், அவர்கள் எண்ணப்படியே ஒவ்வொரு காரியமும் நடைபெற்றால் ஜனநாயகம் என்பதை உலகில் இல்லாதவாறு ஆகிவிடும், அவர்கள் சொல்லியபடியெல்லாம் எந்த சர்க்கார் வந்தாலும் நடக்காது. அவர்கள் வாதப்படிப் பார்த்தால் உலகிலேயே ஜனநாயக நாடு என்று ஒன்றிருப்பதாகவே சொல்ல முடியாது. ஜனநாயகம் வளர்வதற்கான முறைகளை அவர்கள் சொல்லவில்லை. ஜனநாயகமே உலகில் இல்லாது அழிந்து சூடிய ஒரு முறையைத் தான் அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள் என்பதை பூர்ணமாக எல்லோரும் உணர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம்.

“அந்த முறையில் தான் அவர்கள் இன்றைய தினம் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கத்தை அங்கம் அங்கமாக எடுத்துக் கொண்டு, அக்குவேறு ஆணவோடு பிரித்து, அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கத்தில் உணவைப் பற்றிச் சொல்லவில்லையே, வேலையில்லாத திண்டாட்டத்தைப் பற்றிச் சொல்லவில்லையே, அதை நீக்குவதற்கு சர்க்கார் உடனடியாக என்ன திட்டவட்டமான நடவடிக்கைகளைச் செய்யப்போகிறார்கள் என்பதைப் பற்றி ஒன்றும் குறிப்பிடவில்லையே! பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொண்டிருப்பதாகச் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்களே தவிர என்னென்ன நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று ஒன்றும் சொல்லவில்லையே! கிணறு வெட்டியிருக்கிறார்கள் என்றால் எத்தனை கிணறுகள் வெட்டியிருக்கிறார்கள்? எத்தனை ஆழம் வெட்டியிருக்கிறார்கள்? அதில் எத்தனை அடி தண்ணீர் இருக்கிறது? என்றெல்லாம் சொல்லப் படவில்லையே யென்பதாக பலவிதமான சின்னச்சின்ன சிக்கலான பிரச்சனைகளையெல்லாம் பெரிதாக எடுத்துக்காட்டி எதிர்க் கட்சியார்கள் வாசாமகோசாரமாக தங்கள் பிரசங்கங்களை நிகழ்த்தினார்கள். அந்த மாதிரியான முறையிலே பொதுப்படையாகக் குற்றங்களை மாத்திரம் எடுத்துச் சொல்வது மிகவும் சலபமான காரியமாகும். யார் வேண்டுமானாலும் சொல்லலாம். எதை வேண்டுமானாலும் வாயில் வந்தபடி பேசினாலாம், பொறுப்பற்ற முறையிலே சர்க்காரைக் குற்றம் சாட்டுவது யாருக்கும் கஷ்டமில்லை. அதற்குப் போதுமான திறமையும் வேண்டியதில்லை. ஆனால் காரியங்களை வெற்றிகரமாக நடத்துவது தான் மிகவும் கஷ்டமான காரியமாகும். குறிப்பாக மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் பதவியேற்றுக் கொண்டு எவ்வளவு காலம் ஆகிறது. அதற்குள் அவர்கள் செய்திருக்கும் காரியங்களை எல்லாம் ஒவ்வொன்றாக நாம் பார்த்தால் உண்மையில் அவரை நாம் பாராட்டத் தான் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கிறோம். வந்ததும் வராததுமாக அவர் ராயலசிமா பஞ்சப் பிரதேசங்களை நேரிலேயே சென்று பார்வையிட்டு அங்கே மக்கள் பரம் கஷ்டங்களை உடனடியாக நீக்குவதற்கு அவர் எல்லா நடவடிக்கைகளையும் எடுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார். அதற்காக அவரை உண்மையில் நாம் பாராட்டத்தான் வேண்டும். ராயலசிமா பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்குவதற்காக நமது மதிப்பிற்குரிய பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்கள் தன்னுடைய நிதியிலிருந்து பணம் கொடுத்து உதவியிருக்கிறார். மத்திய சர்க்காரும் பணம் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். நமது மாகாண சர்க்காரும் பணம் ஒதுக்கி அதற்குத் தக்க நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். பஞ்சப் பிரதேசங்களுக்கெல்லாம் உடனே நேரிடை நிவாரண மணிக்கா சர்க்கார் ஒரு தனி அதிகாரியை நியமித்து எல்லா காரியங்களையும் செய்து வருகிறார்கள். வேலையில்லாத பேருக்கு வேலை வழங்கவும் எல்லா ஏற்பாடுகளும் செய்யப்பட்டு வருகிறது. கஞ்சித் தொட்டிகள் ஆங்காங்கே ஏற்படுத்தி மக்களுக்கு உதவி செய்து வருகிறார்கள். ராணுவ லாரிகளைக்

[Sri S. Somayajulu]

[8th May 1952]

கொண்டு குடி தண்ணீர் சப்ளை செய்து அந்தப் பிரதேசங்களில் தாண்டவ மாடும் தண்ணீர் பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்க எல்லாவிதமான ஏற்பாடுகளையும் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். நமது மதிப்பிற்குரிய தலைவர்கள் எனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இவ்வளவு திறமையாக இக்காரியங்களையெல்லாம் நடத்தி வருவதற்காக அவரை நாம் எல்லோரும் உண்மையில் பாராட்டு வேண்டும். அதை விடுத்து பஞ்ச நிவாரணத்திற்கு சர்க்கார் எதையுமே செய்யாததைப் போல எதிர்க் கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் வெறும் வறட்டுக் கூச்சல் போட்டுக்கொண்டிருப்பதால் என்ன பிரயோஜனம் என்று தான் எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை.

“சாதாரணமாகப் பார்த்துப் போனால் ராயலசிமா பிரதேசத்திலும் மற்ற சில இடங்களிலும் பஞ்சமானது திடீரென்று சர்க்காரின் அஜாகிரதையினாலோ அல்லது நிர்வாகத் திறமையில்லாத காரணத்தாலோ வந்துவிட்டதென்று யாராலும் சொல்லமுடியாது. தொடர்ந்தாற்போல பல வருஷங்களாக பருவ மழை தவறி விட்டதின் காரணமாகத்தான் விவசாயம் செய்ய முடியாது விவசாயிகள் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். குடி தண்ணீர் இல்லாமல் ஜனங்களும், கால் நடைகளும் தவிக்கின்றன. வானம் பொய்ப்பின் தானமும் தவமும் உலகில் தங்காததோடு பஞ்சத்தால் மக்கள் தவித்து பசியால் உழலும் நிலை தானே ஏற்படும். இதற்காக சர்க்காரையோ, சர்க்காரை நடத்திச் செல்லும் தனி நபர்களையோ, அல்லது காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களையோ குறைசூறுவதில் என்னபதை எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்கள் உணரவேண்டும். வாயில் வந்தபடியெல்லாம் பேசிவிட்டதினால் காரியம் எதுவும் ஆகிவிடாது. வீணாகு பிறரை திட்டிக்கொண்டிருக்கும் நேரத்தில் அவர்கள் தான் மழையை வருவிக்கட்டுமே யார் வேண்டாம் என்றார்கள். இன்று உலகிலே அனுகூலத்தைக் கண்டுபிடித்த விஞ்ஞானிகள் கூட செயற்கை மழையை வெற்றிகரமாக கொண்டு வரமுடியாதநிலையில் தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். மேக சஞ்சாரத்தை வானத்தில் ஏற்படுத்தி அதனிடையே விமானத்திலிருந்து பனிக்கட்டிகளைப் போட்டு மேகத்தை குளிர்ச் செய்தால் மழை உண்டாகலாமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்களே தவிர இன்று ரஷ்யாவிலேயே கூட அம்மாதிரியாக செயற்கை மழையை உண்டாக்குவதற்கு இன்னும் இருபது, முப்பது வருஷங்களுக்கு மேலாகலாம் என்று தான் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. மழையும் இல்லை, மழையை உண்டாக்கவும் முடியாது என்றால் ஆண்டவனை வழிபாது வேறு என்ன செய்வது என்று தான் நான் கேட்கிறேன். பஜகோவிந்தம் போட்டால் மழை வந்துவிடுமா? பஜகோவிந்தம் நன்றாகப் போட்டுத்தான் பார்க்கட்டுமே என்பதாகவெல்லாம் வெறுக்கத்தக்க முறையில் பேசுவது மிகவும் கண்டிக்கத்தக்க விஷயமாகும். எதிர்க்கட்சியினர் இம்மாதிரியாக வேண்டாது வெறுக்கத்தக்க முறைகளில் குற்றங்களையே சுட்டிக்காட்டுவதை விடுத்து ஏன் உருப்படியான நல்ல யோசனைகளைச் சொல்லக்கூடாது என்று கேட்கிறேன். இன்று நாட்டை எதிர் நோக்கியுள்ள பிரச்சனைகளையெல்லாம் பூர்ணமாக உணர்ந்து கொண்டு அங்கத்தினர்கள் எல்லோரும் கடமையுணர்ச்சியுடன் நம் மாகாணத்தின் செல்வாக்கை நிலைநிறுத்த வேலை செய்யவேண்டுமே தவிர வெறும் வாயில் வந்தபடி தங்களுக்குதான் அரசியல் தெரியும், தாங்களுக்குத்தான் ஜனநாயகம் என்னவென்று தெரியும் என்பது போல பேசுவதால் பிரயோஜனமில்லை. காரியங்களை சர்க்கார் தாப்பிலிருந்தாலும் சரி, எதிர் கட்சியிலிருந்தாலும் சரி பொறுப்புணர்ச்சியோடு குற்றங்குறைகளை சரியாக ஆராய்ந்து தக்க யோசனை சொல்லவேண்டியது தான் அவர்களுடைய முக்கியமான கடமையாகும். இப்படிப் பார்க்கும்போது மேன்மைதங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கமானது மிகவும் ரத்தினச் சுருக்கமாக இருக்கிறதென்று தான் சொல்லவேண்டும். அவர் அதில் நம் மாகாணத்தை எதிர்நோக்கியுள்ள எல்லாப் பிரச்சனைகளையும் தெளிவாக எடுத்து விளக்கியிருக்கிறார். அந்தப் பிரச்சனைகளையெல்லாம் நாம் எப்படிச் சமாளிக்கவேண்டுமென்பதைப் பற்றியே நாம் இப்போது யோசிக்கவேண்டுமே தவிர வீணாக அதில் இது சொல்லப்படவில்லை, அது சொல்லப்படவில்லையென்பதாகவெல்லாம் குற்றங்கள் கண்டுபிடித்துப் பேசுவது மிகவும் வெறுக்கத்தக்க செயலாகும்.

“நூல் பிரச்சினையை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் அது நம் மாகாணத்தை மாத்திரம் பாதிக்கும் ஒரு பெரிய பிரச்சினையல்ல. இது மாகாணப் பிரச்சினை

8th May 1952]

[Sri S. Somayajulu]

களில் ஒன்றுதான் என ஒப்புக்கொண்டாலும் இது மத்திய சர்க்கார் சம்பந்தப் பட்ட ஒரு பெரிய பிரச்சனையாகும் என்பதை கனம் அங்கத்தினர்கள் உணர வேண்டும். நூல் சம்பந்தமான விநியோக அதிகாரங்கள் எல்லாம் மத்திய சர்க்காரிடம் தான் இருக்கின்றன. அது மாதிரமல்ல, இன்று ஒரு கோடி நெசவாளர்கள் இருக்கின்றனர். அதைத் தவிர மில் நெசவாளர்கள் வேறு இருக்கின்றனர். இந்தப் பிரச்சனை மிகவும் சிக்கலானது ஆகும். இதை எல்லோருடைய பூரண ஒத்துழைப்புடன் தான் வெற்றிகரமாக நிறைவேற்ற முடியும். அதற்குத்தக்க யோசனைகளை சர்க்காருக்கு அங்கத்தினர்கள் சொல்லவேண்டுமே தவிர குற்றங்களை மாதிரம் எடுத்துச் சொல்லிக் கொண்டிருப்பதினால் பிரயோஜனமேயில்லை. அவ்வாறு செய்து கொண்டிருப்பதினால் அவர்கள் நாட்டின் நலனைக் கருதி சேவை செய்தவர்களாகவும் ஆகமாட்டார்கள் என்பதை அவர்கள் உணரவேண்டும். முக்கியமாக எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் சிலர் தேர்தலில் சர்க்கார் சரியாக நடந்து கொள்ளவில்லையென்பதாக குற்றம் சாட்டினார்கள். பேச்சு சுதந்திரம், எழுத்து சுதந்திரம் எதுவும் இந்த மாகாணத்திலேயே இல்லையென்பது போல பேசினார்கள். நான் கேட்கிறேன், திடீர்ப்போடும் பொழுதுவிடிந்தால் சர்க்காரைப் பற்றியும், மந்திரிகளைப் பற்றியும் பத்திரிகையிலும் கண்டபடி எழுதி பொதுக் கூட்டங்களிலும் வாயில் வந்தபடியெல்லாம் பேசுவதற்கு எந்த நாட்டில் உரிமை கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். தங்களுக்குள்ள சுதந்திரத்தை பூர்ணமாக உணர்ந்துகொண்டுதான் எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்கள் வேண்டுமென்றே சர்க்காரைத் தாக்கிப் பேசவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகத் தான் பேசுகிறார்கள் என்பதை இதிலிருந்து பூர்ணமாக உணர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம்.

“தங்களுக்குத் தான் ஜனநாயகம் என்றால் என்னவென்று தெரியும் என்பது போலவும், அரசியலைப் பற்றித் தங்களுக்குத் தான் ரொம்பவும் தெரியும் என்பது போலவும் கவர்னர் அவர்கள் ராஜாஜியை மோஸ்கைக்கு நியமனம் செய்தது மிகவும் தவறு என்பதாகப் பேசினார்கள். அத்துடன் மாதிரம் நிற்கவில்லை. கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களை ராஜினாமா செய்யுங்கள் தேர்தலில் மறுபடியும் நிலைநிற்க விரும்புகிறீர்கள் என்று வாறுங்கள் என்பதாக அவருக்குச் சவாலும் விடுகிறார்கள் நமது தேர்வுகள். 73 வயது நிரம்பிய ராஜாஜியைப் பார்த்தா தேர்தலுக்கு நிற்கச் செல்லுகிறீர்கள் என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். வயது வந்த பழம் பெரும் தலைவர் கனம் ராஜாஜியைப் பார்த்தா ராஜினாமா செய்யுங்கள்? தேர்தலுக்கு நிலைநிற்க என்பதாகக் கூறுகிறீர்கள்? இது சரியா? இது யோக்கியப் பொறுப்பான பேச்சா யென்பதை அவர்கள் நன்கு உணரவேண்டும். யாருக்கு அவர்கள் சவால் விடுகிறார்கள் என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். மக்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட எங்களால் ஒரேமுகமாகத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட எங்கள் தலைவர் ராஜாஜியைப் பார்த்து சவால் விடுத்த அவர்களைக் கேட்கிறேன். அவர்கள் இப்போது ராஜினாமா செய்வார்களா வென்று. காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்குள் வேற்றுமை மனப்பான்மை நிலவி வந்ததென்றால் அது காந்தியக் கொள்கையில் ஏற்பட்ட வேற்றுமையினால் அல்ல. காங்கிரஸ் திட்டங்களை நாங்கள் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளவில்லையென்பதால் அல்ல. அதை பூர்ணமாக எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் உணர்ந்து கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“சட்டசபை கூடிவிட்டது. மந்திரிசபை அமைத்தாய் விட்டது. அது தன் நிர்வாகத்தை திறம்பட நடத்த எல்லாவிதமான ஒத்துழைப்பையும் எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமே தவிர அதை கவிழ்த்துவிடுவதற்கான முயற்சியிலேயே நடந்து கொள்வது பொறுப்புணர்ச்சியுடன் நடந்து கொள்வதாக ஆகாது என நான் குறிப்பிடவிரும்புகிறேன். சர்க்கார் பதவியேற்று இன்னும் இரண்டு மாதங்கள் கூட ஆகவில்லை. அதற்குள் கசாபுக் கடைக்காரன் ஆட்டோடு விவாதம் செய்கிறது போல அவர்கள் வெறும் கூக்குரலை எழுப்பிக் கொண்டிருப்பதினால் எந்தவிதமான பிரயோஜனமும் கிடையாதென்பதை அவர்கள் உணரவேண்டும்.”

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—“ I rise on a point of order, Sir. The hon. Member is referring to hon. Members on this side as 'butchers'. I want to know whether this is parliamentary.”

[8th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member was talking so loudly that I could not follow exactly what he was saying. Let the hon. Member repeat what he said."

SRI T. VISWANATHAN :—" A point of order has been raised, Sir. I am at a disadvantage? because I do not understand Tamil although the Chief Minister was assuring me that the speech was in chaste, classical Tamil. I want to know what it was, about so that I can understand it."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I am trying to find out what it was that he said. I could not hear him distinctly as he was talking very loudly."

SRI S. SOMAYAJULU :—" கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, நான் எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்களைக் கசாப்புக்கடைக்காரர்கள் என்று சொல்லவில்லை."

MR. SPEAKER :—" கொஞ்சம் மென்மன் சொல்லுங்கள். வேகமாகச் சொன்னால் புரியாமட்டேன் என்கிறது."

*SRI S. SOMAYAJULU :—" வேகமாகப் பேசுவதே என் பிறவி (சிரிப்பு) ஆகையினால் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே! கசாப்புக்கடைக்காரன் ஆட்டோடு வாடும் செய்வது போல் என்று நான் சொன்னேனே தவிர எதிர்க்கட்சி மெம்பர்கள் யாரையும் கசாப்புக்கடைக்காரர்கள் என்று சொல்லவில்லை (சிரிப்பு)."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The allegation was that the hon. Member referred to other hon. Members as 'butchers'. The hon. Member says that he did not make any such reference."

*SRI S. SOMAYAJULU :—" ஆகையினால் கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே! ஜனநாயக முறையில் நடக்கிற ஒரு சர்க்காருக்கு எதிர்க்கட்சிகள் பூர்ணமான ஒத்துழைப்பைக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமே தவிர வெறும் அஸ்திவாரமற்ற குறைகளைக் கூறிக்கொண்டிருப்பதினால் பிரயோசனம் எதுவும் கிடையாது. மந்திரி சபை அமைந்து ஒரு மாதம்தான் ஆகிறது. இன்னும் 6 மாத காலமோ ஒரு வருஷ காலமோ கொடுத்துவிட்டு இந்த மந்திரி சபை எப்படி வேலைகளைச் செய்துவருகிறது என்பதை பூர்ணமாக அறிந்து கொண்டு அதற்குப் பிறகு இந்த சர்க்காரைப்பற்றிய குறைதோஷங்களைப்பற்றி வாசா மகோசரமாகப் பேசினால் மிக நன்றாக இருக்குமே தவிர பதவியேற்றுக்கொண்ட மறுநாளே மனதில் தோன்றியபடியெல்லாம் பேசுவது மிகவும் தப்பான காரியமாகும். ஜனநாயகம் தங்களுக்கு எகபோக உரிமையாக அவர் கொள்ளாமல் மற்றவர்களுக்கும் ஜனநாயகத்தில் நம்பிக்கையுண்டு, அவர்களுக்கும் அரசியல் ஞானம்முண்டு என்ற எண்ணத்தில் அவர்கள் பேசவேண்டுமென நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"உகடையாக இன்றையதினம் இந்த சர்க்காரால் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கத்திற்கு பாராட்டுத் தெரிவிக்கும் தீர்மானத்தை ஆமோதித்து எல்லோரும் இதை ஆதரிக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இத்துடன் நான் முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I now adjourn the House till 10 a.m. to-morrow."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 10 a.m. on Friday, 9th May 1952.

III.—PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

1. Appropriation Accounts, 1949-50, and the Audit Report, 1951.
2. Finance Accounts, 1949-50, and the Audit Report, 1950.

8th May 1952]

APPENDIX

[Vide item II, page 1 supra.]

Special address by the Governor, His Excellency Shri Sri Prakasa under Article 176 (1) of the Constitution of India, to the Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly and Council assembled together at the New Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, at 5 p.m. on Tuesday, 6th May 1952.

Hon. Members of the Legislature,

With this session of the State Legislature, we commence a new chapter in the history of our State. Before I proceed further, I would like to express on behalf of our State our regret at the passing away of King George VI, the Head of the Commonwealth of which our Republic has elected to be a member. The late King worthily upheld the great traditions of the British monarchy and endeared himself to all. We send our people's respectful greetings and good wishes to Queen Elizabeth.

This is the first session of the State Legislature as constituted in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of India, and I congratulate you on being members of this historic legislature. A democratic Constitution like ours will be largely what the voters and legislators make of it. The voters have done their part, and it is up to you, the legislators, to help in evolving sound traditions.

In his Address at the commencement of the last session of the old legislature, my predecessor assured the hon. Members of that legislature, and through them, the general public, that the Government were determined to do all that lay in their power to ensure that the general elections were conducted with absolute impartiality and fairness to all the contesting parties and candidates and appealed for the co-operation of all the parties for achieving that result. I think we may claim that that assurance has been fulfilled. The largest share of the credit for this result must go to the several millions of voters, men and women, who exercised their franchise in an orderly manner.

My Government assumed office on 10th April 1952. Owing to the shortness of time between that date and now, my Address will not cover as much matter as ordinarily, at the beginning of a session, the Address may be expected to deal with. We could not possibly postpone this sitting in view of clause (1) of Article 382 of the Constitution. After completing the necessary business at this sitting, it has been decided that you will be called upon to gather again in June and I shall address you again at the commencement of that sitting under clause (1) of Article 175. At that sitting of the Legislature, the full Budget for the current financial year will have to be passed, and it will be an occasion when there can be a comprehensive review of all matters which are important from the point of view of the welfare and development of the State.

[8th May 1952]

During the financial year 1951-52, this State experienced a failure of both the monsoons for the fifth year in succession. Cultivation of food crops suffered most seriously in four entire districts and in parts of six other districts. Relief measures have been extended to the affected areas by the grant of liberal wet and dry remissions and by providing relief works for labourers thrown out of employment by reason of this drought. The collection of takkavi instalments has been postponed till the next fasli year in these areas. Takkavi and subsistence loans and loans for deepening field wells are also being sanctioned on a liberal scale in the affected areas. To meet the distress caused by the drought, drinking-water wells are being deepened in a large number of places. The Army of India is rendering great assistance in this respect. A number of water lorries have been loaned by them for distribution of water in the areas where scarcity of drinking water is most acute. Gruel centres have been opened in large numbers and free gruel is served to infirm and disabled persons and to women and children. The Government of India have sent a large quantity of multi-vitamin tablets and milk powder for distribution in the areas of distress. To relieve scarcity of fodder, the reserved forests in the districts of Cuddapah, Chittoor and Anantapur have been thrown open for free grazing, and free removal of hill grass. Arrangements have also been made to import fodder and grass from the surplus districts and to sell them at concessional rates to the ryots in the drought affected districts, where purchasing power has been considerably reduced. Several voluntary organizations have offered free gifts of fodder and grain and transport facilities have been arranged at State cost for moving them to the affected areas. The Prime Minister of India has most generously assisted us from his Relief Fund. A Madras State Famine Relief Fund has been organized and I trust there will be good response to our appeal.

The Government of India have assisted us to find ways and means accommodation to the extent of two crores of rupees by purchasing securities held by the State Government and have agreed to make a free grant not exceeding Rs. 48 lakhs to help run gruel centres. We are most grateful to the Government of India and to the voluntary organizations for all their assistance. My Government will endeavour to give adequate relief in all the areas where there is distress on account of the failure of the monsoons.

Owing to the successive failure of the monsoons during the last five years, the food situation in the State continues to be difficult. The latest estimates indicate that the production of rice this year will be less than the normal by nearly 10 lakhs tons and the production of millets by nearly 4 lakhs tons. Allotments by the Government of India from the All-India pool will be mostly in the shape of wheat and milo, and the rice quota is expected to be less than 2 lakhs tons. As against this, it may be noted that we have been lucky to some extent in seasonal conditions in the surplus districts, and there is no reason to apprehend that there will be any deterioration in procurement. The Government of India have permitted this State to increase the procurement price of paddy by

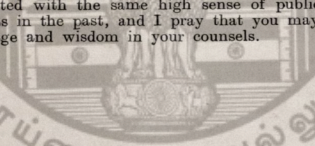
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one rupee per maund up to the end of May this year in addition to the increase of eight annas per maund sanctioned in December last. This will not affect the consumers' prices.

The recent general slump has resulted in considerable distress to those engaged in the large handloom industry of this State. My Government are giving anxious thought to this subject and will announce the measures which they propose to take after consulting all the interests concerned.

There is an urgent piece of legislation to be put through at this meeting of the legislature. It relates to immovable properties which were requisitioned for purposes of the State Government under the Defence of India Rules during the last War and which continued to be subject to requisition under Central Act XVII of 1947, the life of which was extended for a period of one year from 1st April 1951 by Madras Act II of 1951. As the work of derequisitioning of these properties could not be completed before the end of March 1952, immediate action had to be taken to extend the life of the Central Act referred to, for a further period of one year from 1st April 1952. The Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) (Madras Amendment) Amendment Ordinance, 1952 (Madras Ordinance I of 1952), extending the life of the Central Act till 1st April 1953 in respect of immovable properties requisitioned for State purposes, was promulgated on the 31st March 1952. A self-contained Bill replacing this Ordinance will be introduced during the present sittings of the Legislature.

I have done. I am sure that your debates and deliberations in this and future sittings of the new legislature of this State will be conducted with the same high sense of public duty and responsibility as in the past, and I pray that you may be guided by faith, courage and wisdom in your counsels.



வாய்மையே வெல்லும்
TRUTH ALONE TRIUMPHS

